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# THE WORKS OF SHAKESPEARE

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BY

JOHN DOVER WILSON

KING JOHN

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*Lionheart*

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# KING JOHN

ed. by Wilson



CAMBRIDGE  
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THE FRONTISPIECE IS REPRODUCED FROM A WOODCUT IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM COPY OF RASTELL'S *THE PASTIME OF PEOPLE*. IT SHOWS THE BASTARD'S FATHER, RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION (OR CORDELION AS THE ELIZABETHANS CALLED HIM) TEARING THE HEART OUT OF THE LION, THE CONSTANT THEME OF THE PRESENT PLAY. RASTELL'S BOOK WAS PUBLISHED IN 1529, AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SHAKESPEARE WAS FAMILIAR WITH THE CHRONICLE AND HAD SEEN THIS PORTRAIT OF RICHARD.

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## KING JOHN

Shakespeare's *Life and Death of King John* is not from the literary standpoint one of his best or most interesting plays, and though, as I am told by actors who have played it, by no means ineffective in the theatre, it is rarely seen upon the modern stage. Nor is there any external evidence of its popularity during the lifetime of its author. It was, however, essentially a topical play, and there were occasions during the period 1590-1610 when it might well have secured excited audiences. Probably, as we shall find, first performed quite early in his career, it seems to have been originally drafted in haste, though the inconsistencies and confusions of the received text may possibly be due in part to later revision.

'The tragedy,' writes Dr Johnson, 'is varied with a very pleasing interchange of incidents and characters. The Lady's grief is very affecting, and the character of the Bastard contains that mixture of greatness and levity which this author delighted to exhibit.' It is full also of lines and passages which only Shakespeare could have penned. Yet we seldom feel that the pen was dipped in his own heart's blood; and if the much-praised, and over-praised, portrait of the boy Arthur be really the dramatist's obituary notice of his own son, as many have supposed, his paternal affection must have been conventional and frigid to a degree which is very difficult to reconcile with the tender and passionate nature that gives warmth and reality to his later dramas. Indeed, if the death of Hamnet Shakespeare in 1596 meant anything to Shakespeare, Constance's lamentations must surely have been written before that event taught him what true grief was. In a word, our lack of interest in *King John* seems chiefly due to a certain lack of interest on the part of the author. It was, we may guess, one of

those plays which he originally wrote to supply the needs of his company for a special occasion, while his mind was engaged elsewhere, perhaps with the composition of *Richard II*, which seems to be closer to it than any other of his plays.

Nevertheless, there are two points of special interest about *King John*: (i) it is, as I shall endeavour to show, an indisputable example of textual revision, and the only one in which the source-play has come down to us<sup>1</sup>; and (ii) it is the only occasion on which Shakespeare deals directly with the main issue of his age, viz. the religious question and the conflict between the English monarchy and the Papacy. The introduction that follows will be principally concerned with these two matters, which have a connecting link in the relation between Shakespeare's *King John* and the John of history—history in Shakespeare's day and our own.

## I

### *King John in history, modern and Elizabethan*

King John, perhaps the most gifted, certainly the wickedest and most tyrannical, king who ever sat upon an English throne, would make a popular subject for a modern film-play. Latest born of a long family, he reached power as unexpectedly as the disinherited youth who is the favourite hero of fairy story and romance. Short of stature and, if the effigy on his tomb at Worcester is to be trusted, a little effeminate in appearance, he had something childlike about him which appealed for an indulgence he in no way deserved. He was pitifully nicknamed Lackland in his cradle by a father who had settled all the Angevin dominions upon his elder brothers

<sup>1</sup> *King Leir and his Three Daughters*, the other extant drama he is known to have used, is not a source-play in this sense.



before he was born at Oxford in 1167; he was still drawing upon the same pity twenty-six years later when Richard I pardoned a treacherous rebellion with a brotherly kiss and the words 'Thou art but a child, and hast been left to ill guardians'; and one may suspect that the fascination of women for his comely person, a fascination he exploited to the full, called out the mother in them as much as the mistress. For his vices were also those of a spoilt child. He had his full share of the violent passions of his race but never learnt to control them; he would grovel upon the ground in insane fits of anger, screaming aloud and gnawing at straws; while he shewed neither mercy nor pity for those who crossed the desire of his eye or the lusts of his flesh.

In an epoch when the power of the Church and the glory of kingship were at their height he seemed to be entirely lacking in reverence or a sense of personal dignity. He scoffed publicly at sacred things, bandying lewd jests upon them with his cronies in Rouen cathedral at the very moment of his coronation as Duke of Normandy, and welcoming the papal interdict as an opportunity for the greedy enjoyment of church property. The most brilliant strategist of his age, he nevertheless preferred the amusement of harrying the peaceful countryside and burning cornfields to pitched battles, in which he seldom engaged until he had first made sure that ample desertions from the opposing force would give him victory. Insensitive to the claims of honour, amazingly devoid of self-respect, and yet gifted with an intellect as subtle and as powerful as any in Europe, he baffled friends and enemies alike from first to last. He knew when he was beaten; found small attraction in defending a losing cause; shrank from no humiliation to save his skin or to gain his ends; and was never more dangerous than when he seemed most at a loss. Even when finally at bay, with a French army on English soil, his treasure engulfed in the Wash and himself

deserted by all save mercenaries, he might not impossibly have contrived one more chicane and perhaps played a winning hand for many years, had he not chosen that moment to overeat himself like a gluttonous schoolboy, and so brought on the fit of dysentery from which he died. Yet his exit was probably well-timed; for he had at last met his match in Stephen Langton, a man as clever as himself, but with a sense of values and an understanding of human nature quite beyond his ken. Indeed, the entry on the stage of Nemesis in the person of Langton, representative of the best traditions of our character and statesmanship, and founder of our liberties, brings the tragedy of the English Nero to a magnificently appropriate catastrophe.

It is not surprising that such a man seemed in the eyes of his contemporaries a monster who beggared description: 'Nature's enemy' is how one chronicler sums him up, while another exclaims 'Foul as it is, hell itself is defiled by the fouler presence of John.' And modern historians echo the verdict in modern terms. 'The closer study of John's history,' writes John Richard Green in a passage that John's best-known biographer, Kate Norgate, takes as her text, 'clears away the charges of sloth and incapacity with which men tried to explain the greatness of his fall. The awful lesson of his life rests on the fact that the king who lost Normandy, became the vassal of the Pope, and perished in a struggle of despair against English freedom was no weak and indolent voluptuary but the ablest and most ruthless of the Angevins.' And a living historian, Professor Powicke, draws substantially the same portrait, though in slightly different perspective<sup>1</sup>.

What Green called the awful lessons of history are the dramatist's opportunity; and the character of John might have set Marlowe dreaming of an addition to his gallery

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Medieval History*, vi, 219-20.

of supermen or Shakespeare fashioning a villain who would combine the foppery of Richard II with the devilry of Richard III, had either of them been allowed to catch sight of 'nature's enemy' in the mirror they held up to nature. But John's real features, as seen by Roger of Wendover, Kate Norgate and Professor Powicke, were obscured for most Elizabethans by the pre-occupations of the age in which they lived. His iniquities had brought two forces stronger than himself into the field: the Papacy, which he angered by his high-handed dealing with ecclesiastical affairs, and the English baronage, temporarily united, and protesting in the name of the whole English people against his tyrannical practices. This second issue, which culminated in the Great Charter of 1215, had no special meaning for Shakespeare and his contemporaries. With the Wars of the Roses immediately behind them, and rejoicing like Nazi Germany in a strong executive as the only security against social anarchy and national decay, they regarded the Charter, if they thought about it at all, as the treasonable innovation of a rebellious nobility, a point of view, indeed, not unlike that of a recent French scholar, who speaks of it as 'essentially an act of feudal reaction against the progress of an encroaching royal administration and an arbitrary fiscal system<sup>1</sup>.' For, what another historian of our time has called 'the myth of Magna Carta<sup>2</sup>' did not begin to take hold of man's

<sup>1</sup> Charles Petit Dutaillis and Georges Lefebvre, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, iii (Manchester University Press, 1929), 316.

<sup>2</sup> E. Jenks, 'The Myth of Magna Carta' (*Independent Review*, Nov. 1904, pp. 260-73). A corrective to these extreme views may be found in Professor Powicke's chapter on John already cited from the *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. vi. While admitting that 'the real history of the Great Charter belongs to a later age,' he points out that 'as a whole it reflected the best and most stable feeling of Englishmen, of the moderate barons, the bishops and the trained admini-



minds until Parliament found itself at loggerheads with the Stuarts, or become an accepted corner-stone of English political philosophy until the Hanoverians had acknowledged the Whig successors of John's barons as partners in the Constitution. Englishmen of Tudor times were fascinated by the other issue. To most of them John appeared, not as the enemy of liberty, but as its champion, as the one medieval king who had openly withstood the Pope for many years and who, according to a legend they accepted with avidity, met his death from poison administered by a treacherous monk. It is as a valiant precursor of the Reformation that John makes his first appearance in dramatic literature.

On January 2, 1539, six years after the marriage of Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn and the elevation of Cranmer to the see of Canterbury, a company of actors under the direction of one 'Bale' were performing a play 'in Christmas time at my lord of Canterbury's,' from which might be 'perceived King John was as noble a prince as ever was in England, and...that he was the beginning of the putting down of the Bishop in Rome.' The company probably belonged to my Lord Cromwell; the 'Bale' who led it was with little doubt John Bale, a clerical writer of violent Protestant moralities who was later created Bishop of Ossory; and the interlude spoken of can hardly be any other than Bale's *King Johan*<sup>1</sup>. In this strange, formless blend of

strators,' as is proved by 'the fact that in its revised form it was issued after John's death by the legate, William the Marshal, Hubert de Burgh and other royalists,' in which form 'it was regarded as a definite settlement of the law which regulated the relations between the Crown and the vassals and the administrators of justice and finance,' *ibid.* p. 245.

<sup>1</sup> v. pp. xvii-xviii, Introduction to Bale's *King Johan* (Malone Society Reprints).

morality-play, chronicle and Protestant pamphlet, which has come down to us in a version dating from the early days of Elizabeth, John's beatification finds its most fervent celebration, and to what lengths Bale's zeal carried him may be seen from the words of the Interpreter at the conclusion of the first part:

Thys noble kynge Iohan, as a faythfull Moyses  
withstode proude Pharao, for hys poore Israel,  
Myndynge to brynge it, out of the lande of Darkenesse  
But the Egyptyanes, ded agaynst hym so rebell  
That hys poore people, ded styll in the desart dwell  
Tyll that Duke Iosue, whych was our late kynge Henrye  
Clerely brought vs in, to the lande of mylke and honye.

Bale was a fanatic; and actually represents Langton planning John's death with the poisoner. Yet he was honest according to his lights, and firmly believed that John's character and actions had been grossly misrepresented by the monkish chroniclers of the middle ages in their anxiety to defend the Roman Church. 'Veryte,' a character whom he brings on to the stage after the death of his hero, trounces the chroniclers in long speeches, the tenour of which may be gleaned from two brief extracts:

I assure ye fryndes, lete men wryte what they wyll,  
kynge Iohan was a man, both valeaunt and godlye  
what though Polydorus, reporteth hym very yll  
At the suggestyons, of the malicyouse clergie  
Thynke yow a Romane, with the Romanes can not lye?

And, again, this time addressing the 'Romanes' direct:

ye were neuer wele, tyll ye had hym cruelly slayne  
And now beyng dead ye have hym styll in disdayne;  
ye haue raysed vp of hym most shamelesse lyes  
Both by your reportes, and by your written storyes<sup>1</sup>.

Nor is the point of view peculiar to Bale. We are not surprised to find it running as an undercurrent through

<sup>1</sup> Bale's *King Johan*, *op. cit.* ll. 2145-49, 2239-42.

the chapters on John in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. But it is rather remarkable that Holinshed, the greatest of Elizabethan historiographers, with the medieval chronicles before him and concerned to write history and not a Protestant homily, should go further out of his way to defend the 'Moses' of the Reformation than the martyrologist himself. Witness his summary of John's character, which runs as follows:

He was comely of stature, but of looks and countenance displeasing and angry; somewhat cruel of nature, as by the writers of his time he is noted; and not so hardy as doubtful in time of peril and danger.

But this seemeth to be an envious report uttered by those that were given to speak no good of him whom they inwardly hated.... Verily, whosoever shall consider the course of the history written of this prince, he shall find that he hath been little beholden to the writers of that time in which he lived; for unneth can they afford him a good word, except when the truth enforceth them to come out with it, as it were, against their wills. And the occasion, as some think, was for that he was no great friend to the clergy.... Certainly, it should seem the man had a princely heart in him and wanted nothing but faithful subjects to have wroken himself of such wrongs as were done and offered to him by the French king and others. Moreover, the pride and pretended authority of the clergy he could not well abide, when they went about to wrest out of his hands the prerogative of his princely rule and government. True it is, that to maintain his wars which he was forced to take in hand, as well in France as elsewhere, he was constrained to make all the shift he could devise to recover money, and because he pinched at their purses, they conceived no small hatred against him; which when he perceived, and wanted peradventure discretion to pass it over, he discovered now and then in his rages his immoderate displeasure, as one not able to bridle his affections, a thing very hard in a stout stomach, and thereby he missed now and then to compass that which otherwise he might very well have brought to pass<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed, *Chronicles*, ed. 1577 (ii, 606).



Though more judicial in tone than Bale, the argument is the same. Nevertheless, there were points in the *acta Johanni* as related by Holinshed which were difficult to square with the portrait of a Protestant saint and martyr. And in *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, the next dramatic study of John's character, to be considered immediately, we shall find the lines drawn with less confidence, while the entirely fictitious account of his pursuit of the unhappy Matilda which forms the main interest of Munday and Chettle's *Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon*, printed in 1601, brings us nearer to the real John of history than any of the earlier dramatic portraits<sup>1</sup>, except perhaps Shakespeare's.

Holinshed, who wrote without a thought of the stage in his mind, was nevertheless the father of many plays; and the publication of his *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* in 1577, which gathered together and completed the efforts of previous Tudor chroniclers, marks a turning-point in the history of Tudor drama. For the book, inspired by the new-found sense of national unity and purpose which was the mainspring of Elizabethan activity in every field, immensely quickened that sense in thousands of English playgoers by providing the dramatists of the day with material for a corpus of drama which mirrored the history of England with scarcely a break from before the Conquest to the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Indeed, in his 'defence of plays' written four years later than that victory, Nashe gives pride of place to their patriotic interest, seeing that

the subject of them (for the most part)...is borrowed out of our English Chronicles, wherein our forefathers valiant

<sup>1</sup> As author of the play *Sir Thomas Moore*, to say nothing of *The English Roman Life*, Munday may be suspected of possessing a better understanding of the Catholic standpoint than violent Protestants like Bale and the dramatist responsible for *The Troublesome Reign*.

acts (that have line long buried in rustie brasse and worm-eaten bookes) are reuiued, and they themselves raised from the Graue of obliuion, and brought to pleade their aged Honours in open presence: than which, what can be a sharper reproofe to these degenerate effeminate dayes of ours<sup>1</sup>?

That Holinshed and those who distilled his *Chronicles* for the benefit of the public at large held a conception of history very different from our own is nothing to their dishonour. Living in a prescientific age, when prodigies and heavenly portents were credited in the opinion of the best and wisest with an influence upon the fortunes of states and monarchs as undoubted as it was incalculable, they were in duty bound to record all such phenomena as they could learn of. Lord Chancellor Bacon himself does not hesitate to do so in his *History of Henry VII*. Accepting without question, for reasons already glanced at, absolute monarchy as the highest form of human polity, it did not occur to them that anything much besides the doings of kings, whether at home or in the field, was worth a chronicler's pains. Apparently the only extant play of the time which represents parliament upon the stage is Shakespeare's *Richard II*, and even there it figures merely as the shadowy background to a king's deposition<sup>2</sup>. The silence, then, of Shakespeare's *King John* and its dramatic precursors on the subject of the Magna Carta needs neither excuse nor explanation. It should not be forgotten, moreover, that political prepossession and theatrical convenience were alike served by the blindness of the age to the constitutional struggles and social movements which give history its meaning in our eyes. Such topics are not readily amenable to stage-representation; the fortunes of

<sup>1</sup> *Pierce Pennilesse*, v. R. B. McKerrow, *Works of Thomas Nashe*, i, 212.

<sup>2</sup> v. W. Creizenach, *The English Drama in the time of Shakespeare*, p. 177.

monarchs are<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, it was largely because the Elizabethans thought of politics, and the working of the universe at large, in terms of personality that the theatre became their characteristic means of literary expression. It is no accident that the greatest age of English drama took a purely dramatic view of history.

## II

### *The source of Shakespear's play*

Fourteen years after the publication of Holinshed's *Chronicles* an anonymous drama came into the printer's hand and was published in two parts during 1591 under the title of *The Troublesome Raigne of Iohn King of England, with the discouerie of King Richard Cordelions Base sonne* (vulgarly named, *The Bastard Fawconbridge*): also the death of King Iohn at Swinstead Abbey. As it was (sundry times) publikely acted by the Queenes Maiesties Players, in the honourable Citie of London. Imprinted at London for Sampson Clarke, and are to be solde at his shop, on the backe-side of the Royall Exchange. 1591. Sampson Clarke was a respectable publisher and the imprint is perfectly normal. The text also is straightforward enough and contains roughly about 2800 lines, which makes it some 100 lines shorter than *Edward I*, a drama almost certainly by the same playwright, and some 300 lines longer than Shakespeare's play. The only peculiarity about it, indeed, is its publication in two parts, there being no obvious dramatic reason for the division. It seems that having secured a single play, the publisher attempted to make double profit out of it

<sup>1</sup> Elizabethan dramatists were, of course, alive to the existence of the 'commons' and popular political aspirations, and their attitude towards these may be seen in the Jack Cade scenes of 2 *Henry VI* or the insurrection scene of *Sir Thomas Moore*.



by issuing it as two books. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, a genuine two-part play, had appeared from the press of Richard Jones in the previous year, so that the play-reading public would be ready to be thus deceived. It looks, moreover, as if the author of the play lent a hand in the deception by pretending that it formed a kind of sequel to Marlowe's. Each part is prefaced with an address in verse 'To the Gentlemen•Readers,' which though specially written for the publication<sup>1</sup> is in a style very similar to that of the play; and the first of them, beginning

You that with friendly grace of smoothed brow  
 Haue entertaind the Scythian Tamburlaine,  
 And giuen applause vnto an Infidel:  
 Vouchsafe to welcome (with like curtesie)  
 A warlike Christian and your Countreyman,

deliberately recalls Marlowe's famous twin-drama, which had taken London by storm on the stage, had probably been a great success when it appeared in print, and was also furnished with a brief prologue to each part<sup>2</sup>.

The point is important as regards date. If the lines just quoted belong to a dramatic prologue, then *The Troublesome Reign* must have been written for performance shortly after *Tamburlaine* was first acted, that is to say before the end of 1587<sup>3</sup>. But, once they are seen to have been written for publication in 1591, the need for

<sup>1</sup> This is proved by the last line of the first address.

And think it was prepared for your disport,  
 which is clearly a request to readers to imagine themselves as spectators.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that Marlowe's *Edward II* was likewise called '*The Troublesome Raigne*' on the title-page of 1594 suggests further possibilities of catch-penny faking. The date of *Edward II*'s first performance is, however, unfortunately unknown.

<sup>3</sup> v. letter by Sir E. K. Chambers in *Times Literary Supplement*, Aug. 28, 1930.

linking the composition of the play to that of Marlowe's disappears. Nevertheless, as Sir Edmund Chambers notes, 'the tone is that of the Armada period<sup>1</sup>,' and a play so fervently patriotic and so fiercely anti-papal may well belong to 1588 or 1589.

It is generally assumed that *The Troublesome Reign* owes nothing to Bale's play, though the hatred of the Papacy which it breathes, together with the claim of the prologue just quoted that John was

A Warlike Christian and your Countreyman,  
and that

For Christs true faith indur'd he many a storme,  
And set himselfe against the Man of Rome,  
Vntill base treason (by a damned wight)  
Did all his former triumphs put to flight,

indicates that it follows the same tradition. But it belongs to a different artistic category. It is a play, which Bale's amorphous dramatic tract never succeeds in becoming. Indeed, Courthope thought so highly of it that he refused to believe that anyone but Shakespeare could have written it, arguing that 'in the energy and dignity of the State debates, the life of the incidents, the variety and contrast of the characters, and the power of conceiving the onward movement of a great historical action, there is a quality of dramatic workmanship... quite above the genius of Peele, Greene, or even Marlowe<sup>2</sup>.' This is one of the curiosities of criticism, and the attribution to Shakespeare has found scant support elsewhere. But it serves to bring out the virtues of a play which is in some ways better constructed than *King John*.

Most critics who have written upon the subject take for granted that Shakespeare derived his play from *The Troublesome Reign*. Close affinity between the two is undeniable; but the priority of the inferior text no longer

<sup>1</sup> *Elizabethan Stage*, iv, 24.

<sup>2</sup> W. J. Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, iv, 465.



goes without saying, as it used to in the days before Dr Pollard recognised 'bad quartos' as a special class by themselves, Dr Greg demonstrated that the extant text of Greene's *Orlando Furioso*, published in 1594, was printed, not from the author's manuscript or even from an authorised prompt-book, but from a garbled and reported compilation got together by actors who had taken part in the authentic play<sup>1</sup>, and Professor Peter Alexander put up a strong case for believing that *The first part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster* (pub. 1594), *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke* (pub. 1595) and *The Taming of a Shrew* (pub. 1594) were bad quartos which stood in similar relationship to parts 2 and 3 of Shakespeare's *Henry VI* and *The Taming of the Shrew*<sup>2</sup>. From the bibliographical point of view *The Troublesome Reign* is not a 'bad' quarto; but is there not something suspicious about it? May it not be derived from Shakespeare's play, instead of the other way about? Is it not perhaps an attempt by some unscrupulous person to make profit out of Shakespeare's success by furnishing a rival company with another text closely modelled upon his? Or was it even designed for the stage at all? Is it not rather a vamped up playbook, written expressly for publication, as its prologues undoubtedly were; a catch-penny production, possibly of some needy playwright like Peele, sold to a publisher at a time when Shakespeare was making *King John* famous in London, and intended to be accepted by ignorant readers as his? This last intention is indeed patent in the second quarto, published in 1611, with the words 'Written by W. Sh.' on its title-page, and unblushing in the third quarto of 1622, which shamelessly expands the 'W. Sh.' to 'W. Shakespeare.'

<sup>1</sup> *Alcazar and Orlando*, W. W. Greg, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> *Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III*, Peter Alexander, 1929.

Yet it is very difficult to disbelieve that *King John* is based upon a text which, if not identical with *The Troublesome Reign* as printed in 1591, was another and closely related version of it, for the simple reason that there are a number of points common to the two plays which are far clearer in *The Troublesome Reign* than in *King John*, some of them indeed being quite unintelligible in the latter without reference to the former. Here are a few of the more striking instances, most of which have been noted by previous investigators:

(i) Shakespeare's Bastard, spoiling for a fight, is naturally annoyed in 2. 1 when the proposed marriage between Blanch and the Dauphin seems likely to bring about peace. Yet his insulting parody of the Dauphin's lovemaking and his description of the Dauphin himself as 'so vile a lout' seem both impolitic and excessive until we discover from *The Troublesome Reign* that he had himself been promised the lady's hand by Queen Elinor<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, as Professor Moore Smith has noted, the Bastard's threat in *The Troublesome Reign* that he will make a cuckold of his rival the Dauphin loses its point when directed, as it is by Shakespeare, against Austria<sup>2</sup>.

(ii) Shakespeare never accounts for the poisoning of John. 'Just when his fortunes are at their most critical point, the hero, without rhyme or reason, dies: some one comes in casually and says that the king is dying, murdered by an anonymous monk, who is indeed described as a 'resolved villain' but is not shown to have any motive whatever for his deed<sup>3</sup>.' In *The Troublesome Reign*, on the other hand, the poisoning, which is circumstantially

<sup>1</sup> v. 'Shakespeare as an Adapter' by Edward Rose, printed in the Introduction to *The Troublesome Reign*, 1 (Praetorius facsimile), p. xv.

<sup>2</sup> v. p. 335 of *An English Miscellany presented to F. J. Furnivall* (Oxford, 1901).

<sup>3</sup> Rose, *op. cit.* p. xv.

depicted, occurs as the natural outcome of that harrying of the monasteries which is so prominent a feature of the old play, but which Shakespeare almost entirely suppressed. This point seems almost sufficient by itself to demonstrate the priority of *The Troublesome Reign*.

(iii) In 4. 3. 11 of *King John* Salisbury and the other 'revolts' speak of joining the Dauphin at St Edmundsbury. Shakespeare gives no reason why they should meet there, though at the beginning of 5. 2 and at 5. 4. 18 he refers to solemn oaths between Lewis and the English nobles exchanged at that place. All is made clear, however, as Professor Moore Smith observes, when 'in *The Troublesome Reign*, as in Holinshed, we see . . . the lords . . . disguised as palmers on pilgrimage to a famous shrine, the better to cloak their rebellious designs from the King<sup>1</sup>.'

(iv) Shakespeare's John informs the nobles that he has already 'possessed' them with 'some reasons' for the second coronation (4. 2) which they find 'superfluous,' but he does not so possess us, and we are not prepared in any way for the event. In *The Troublesome Reign* the ceremony is not merely led up to by a long speech from the King explaining that he finds it expedient to seek a second assurance of his subjects' loyalty after his revolt from Rome, but is followed by another speech hinting broadly that his fears of Arthur had also prompted his action. These fears are indeed also hinted at in a line of *King John* but so obscurely that editors have hitherto failed to notice it<sup>2</sup>.

(v) All but one have also strangely overlooked a glaring inconsistency in Shakespeare's play, which on the face of it appears only to be explained by supposing that he misunderstood a passage in *The Troublesome Reign*. His most famous scene is that in which John in a couple

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to *King John* (Warwick Shakespeare), p. xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> v. note 4. 2. 42.



of suddenly uttered words suggests to Hubert the assassination of Arthur (3. 3); yet when we find Hubert two scenes later (4. 1) on the point of executing these commands, it is blinding and not murder he is about, and the warrant he shows is to this effect also. No explanation is offered for the change; nor does Shakespeare seem to be aware that any change has taken place. Turn to *The Troublesome Reign* and once again all is explained. In 1. ix<sup>1</sup> of that text, which corresponds with Shakespeare's 3. 3, John gives Arthur into Hubert's charge with these words:

Hubert keepe him safe,  
For on his life doth hang thy Soueraignes crowne,  
But in his death consists thy Soueraignes blisse:  
Then Hubert, as thou shortly hearst from me,  
So vse the prifoner I haue giuen in charge.

The second and third lines express John's dilemma, as understood and later again emphasised<sup>2</sup> by the unknown author, which may be thus rendered in modern English: 'It is as much as my crown is worth to have him killed, though I should dearly love to see him dead.' John is, therefore, obliged, as we find in 1. xii, to content himself with putting out his rival's eyes, which would at least render him incapable of ruling. All this, it appears, Shakespeare misunderstood as he rapidly revised the old play; he interpreted John's hinted desire for Arthur's death as an instruction to murder him; and when he came to the blinding scene he followed it, quite forgetting what he had himself written two scenes earlier! Nor does the confusion stop here. As Professor Moore Smith, the only previous critic who seems to have

<sup>1</sup> I.e. scene ix of part 1, as numbered in the Praetorius facsimile.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1. xiii. 236-43:

His death hath freed me from a thousand feares,  
But it hath purchast me ten times ten thousand foes, etc.

perceived it, notes<sup>1</sup>, it continues into 4. 2, where Pembroke speaks of a death-warrant shown by Hubert to a friend of his, while John and Hubert discuss the death of Arthur for sixty-six lines and assume throughout that both the warrant and the oral instructions were for death not blinding, which is never once mentioned. Yet this all takes place in the scene immediately after that which begins 'Heat me these irons hot.'

(vi) A misunderstanding of a different kind may be seen at 3. 1. 107, where Shakespeare makes the cheated Constance say:

Arm, arm, you heavens against these perjured kings,  
although it is Philip alone not John who is perjured.  
The error, as Liebermann<sup>2</sup> shows, seems to have its source in the corresponding speech of *The Troublesome Reign* (1. iv. 205-10):

If any Power will heare a widdowes plaint,  
That from a wounded soule implores reuenge;  
Send fell contagion to infect this Clyme,  
This curfed Countrey, where the traytors breath,  
Whose periurie as prowde Briareus,  
Beleaguers all the Skie with misbeliefe.

Here her indignation is directed against France alone and the 'traytors' she refers to are Philip, Lewis and Austria. Shakespeare, however, in revision has overlooked this and has assumed that 'traytors' refers to both the kings she hates. It is a small point but very significant of the relationship between the two texts.

(vii) Apart from dramatic confusions and inconsistencies, *King John* contains several curious and obscure expressions which are best understood on reference to

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to *King John* (Warwick Shakespeare), p. xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> F. Liebermann, 'Shakespeare als Bearbeiter des *King John*,' *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, cxlii, 181.

*The Troublesome Reign*. When Chatillion, for instance, at 1. 1. 9-11 declares that Philip, in the name of

Arthur Plantagenet, lays most lawful claim  
To this fair island and the territories,  
To Ireland, Poictiers, Anjou, Touraine, Maine,

we are puzzled by the rather odd use of the word 'territories' in the sense of dependencies. The corresponding speech in 1. i of *The Troublesome Reign* runs 'Philip...requireth in the behalfe of the said Arthur, the Kingdom of England, with the Lordship of Ireland, Poitiers, Aniow, Torain, Main,' which offers the same material but no illumination. Turn on however to 1. ii., which opens with the following address by Philip to Arthur himself:

Now gin we broach the title of thy claime  
Yong Arthur in the Albion Territories,

and we find the words 'claim' and 'territories' once again combined, the latter in this case being used in a perfectly ordinary sense. Similarly, the rather forced use of 'lineal' by Shakespeare in John's reference to

Our just and lineal entrance to our own

at 2. 1. 85 may be accounted for as an echo of the Bastard's reference at 1. i. 353 to his brother who 'holds my right, as lineall in discent.' But the most remarkable instance of the kind occurs in 5. 2. 103-4.

Have I not heard these islanders shout out  
'Vive le Roy!' as I have banked their towns?

the Dauphin enquires, and we should be entirely without a clue to the meaning of 'banked' had we not *The Troublesome Reign* to inform us (without any warrant from Holinshed) that Lewis sailed up the Thames, receiving the homage of the towns along the banks as he did so<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, so closely do the words of the two

<sup>1</sup> v. note 5. 2. 104.

texts often correspond that we may even at times make use of *The Troublesome Reign* in dealing with textual corruption in *King John*, as a glance at my notes on 5. 6. 12 and 5. 7. 16 will show.

(viii) The foregoing links and parallels are only a small portion of a large body of verbal coincidence or similarity which is one of the most remarkable features of the problem we are studying. It is usually stated that the texts contain only a single line in common, viz. 5. 4. 42:

For that my grandsire was an Englishman.

That this is not precisely true will be seen from the parallel to 2. 1. 527-8 quoted immediately below. And if we seek for less exact parallels—for lines almost though not quite identical, or for identical scraps of verse—we get proof of wide borrowing on the one side or the other. I quote some of the more obvious of such correspondences, giving the Folio text of *King John* first and that of *The Troublesome Reign* second:

- |               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 1. 1. 11      | To Ireland, Poyctiers, Aniowe, Torayne,<br>Maine   |
| 1. i. 33-4    | of Ireland, Poitiers, Aniow, Torain, Main  |
| 2. 1. 65      | With them a Bastard of the Kings deceast   |
| 1. ii. 69     | Next them a Bastard of the Kings deceast   |
| 2. 1. 191     | <i>Que.</i> Thou vnaduised scold, I can produce<br>A Will, that barres the title of thy sonne.<br><i>Con.</i> I who doubts that, a Will: a wicked will,<br>A womans will, a cankred Grandams will. |
| 1. ii. 98-100 | For prooffe whereof, I can inferre a Will,<br>That barres the way he urgeth by discent.<br><i>Constance.</i> A Will indeede, a crabbed Womans<br>will  |
| 2. 1. 203     | You men of Angiers, and my louing subiects   |
| 1. ii. 192    | You men of Angiers, and as I take it my loyall<br>Subiects (prose)   |
| 2. 1. 422     | Speake on with fauour, we are bent to heare  |
| 1. iv. 65     | Speake on, we giue thee leaue  |



2. i. 423 That daughter there of Spaine, the Lady Blanch  
Is neece<sup>1</sup> to England
- i. iv. 83 The beauteous daughter of the King of Spaine,  
Neece to K. Iohn
2. i. 527 *Iohn.* Then do I giue Volqueffon, Toraine,  
Maine,  
Poyctiers and Aniow, these fve Prouinces
- i. iv. 158 *Philip* Then I demaund Volqueffon, Torain,  
Main,  
Poitiers and Aniou, these fve Prouinces.
2. i. 530 Full thirty thousand Markes of English coyne  
i. iv. 172 And thirtie thousand markes of stipend coyne
2. i. 538 For at Saint Maries Chappell presently  
i. iv. 188 Which in S. Maries Chappell presently
3. i. 202 Philip, what saist thou to the Cardinall?  
i. v. 110 Brother of Fraunce, what say you to the  
Cardinall?
3. i. 300 *Daul.* Father, to Armes  
i. v. 133 (*Phil*) Nobles, to armes
3. 4. 20 I prethee Lady goe away with me  
i. x. 34 come Constance, goe with me
3. 4. 183 If you say I  
i. x. 41 The Pope sayes I
4. 2. 1 Heere once againe we sit: once againe crown'd  
i. xiii. 88 Once ere this time was I inuested King
4. 2. 68 Hubert, what newes with you?  
i. xiii. 207 How now, what newes with thee
4. 2. 215 Heere is your hand and Seale for what I did  
i. xiii. 262 Why heres my Lord your Highness hand  
& seale
5. i. 30-31 nothing there holds out / But Douer Castle  
ii. iv. 14-15 not a foote holds out / But Douer Castle
5. 4. 39 If Lewis, by your afsistance win the day  
ii. v. 18 if Lewes win the day

Many more parallels will be found in my notes, and so frequently do they occur that I have probably overlooked not a few. Most of them are taken from

<sup>1</sup> Misprinted 'neere.'



corresponding scenes or closely related passages; but not all. It is remarkable, for instance, that the words of Shakespeare's Pandulph, as he excommunicates King John (3. 1. 176-79):

And meritorious shall that hand be called,  
Canonizéd and worshipped as a saint,  
That takes away by any secret course  
Thy hateful life,

closely resemble those placed in the mouth of John's actual murderer in *The Troublesome Reign* (II. vi. 94-95), as he soliloquises before the deed:

Now if that thou wilt looke to merit heauen,  
And be canonizd for a holy Saint.

It is interesting too to compare the following passages, taken from parallel scenes, though from quite different contexts:

(a) Arthur, speaking of the cold iron and the dead coal, says to Hubert in *King John*, 4. 1. 118-19:

All things that you should use to do me wrong  
Deny their office.

(b) Hubert, shrinking from the deed he has to do, says to Arthur in *The Troublesome Reign*, I. xii. 46-47:

My heart my head, and all my powers beside,  
To aide the office haue at once denide.

Here it is clear that the linked words 'office' and 'deny' (like 'claim' and 'territories' noted above) have been unconsciously borrowed by one of the two writers from the other; unconsciously, I say, because they are used in slightly different senses and placed in different mouths. And that the bulk of these verbal borrowings are also unconscious is, I think, shown by the fact that the words borrowed are very seldom anything but trivial, and that they often occur at points of the dialogue which communicate important historical facts or names, as if they had been caught up with them in the effort of

memorising or reproduction. Thus both texts speak of 'brave Austria,' of the Bastard's 'mounting' mind or spirit, of 'the mother-queen' (Elinor), of 'disrobe' (in connexion with the lion's skin), of 'chevaliers' (the French knights), of the English 'bottoms' (ships), of the citizens of Angiers viewing the fight 'from off' or 'from out' their 'towers,' of Arthur as a 'green' 'boy,' of Angiers as 'this rich' city or town, of the unholy compact between John and Philip as 'tickling,' of 'dreadfull' or 'loud churlish' 'drums,' of the fifth moon 'whirling about' the others, and so on. But perhaps the quotation of a pair of more extended passages will show best how faithfully the two texts march together, and yet how widely they diverge. In *The Troublesome Reign* (1. xiii. 218-22) Essex greets John's announcement of Arthur's death in these words:

What haue you done my Lord? Was euer heard  
A deede of more inhumane consequence?  
Your foes will curse, your friends will crie reuenge.  
Unkindly rage more rough than Northern winde,  
To chip the beautie of so sweete a flower;

the last two lines being derived from *Euphues* which speaks of a 'fine face...the beautie whereof is parched with the Sommers blase, & chipped with the winters blast<sup>1</sup>.' Only an eye sharpened by parallels elsewhere will perceive the connexion between this and the dialogue in *King John* (4. 3. 35-50) concerning the discovery of Arthur's body at the foot of the prison-wall:

*Pembroke.* O death, made proud with pure and princely  
beauty!  
The earth had not a hole to hide this deed.  
*Salisbury.* Murder, as hating what himself hath done,  
Doth lay it open to urge on revenge.  
*Bigot.* Or, when he doomed this beauty to a grave,  
Found it too precious-princely for a grave.

<sup>1</sup> v. Bond, *Works of John Lyly*, i, 202.

*Salisbury.* Sir Richard, what think you? have you beheld,

Or have you read or heard? or could you think?  
Or do you almost think, although you see,  
That you do see? could thought, without this object,  
Form such another? This is the very top,  
The height, the crest, or crest unto the crest,  
Of murder's arms: this is the bloodiest shame,  
The wildest savagery, the vilest stroke,  
That ever wall-eyed wrath or staring rage  
Presented to the tears of soft remorse.

Yet the words 'beauty' (twice used by Shakespeare) 'deed,' 'revenge,' 'rage,' together with the parallel between Essex's question beginning 'Was ever heard' and the similar rhetorical questions of Salisbury, render the connexion certain, although it would be difficult to imagine two interpretations of a like situation more different in treatment. In particular, it may be remarked that there is no borrowing of imagery, nor is there any such borrowing to speak of elsewhere<sup>1</sup>. It is situations, historical or quasi-historical facts, details of dramatic structure, together with chance words and phrases attached to these, which are taken over, never poetic diction. And this noteworthy point of difference, quite apart from the dramatic evidence for the priority of *The Troublesome Reign* already set forth, goes to show from which side the borrowing came, since while a poet like Shakespeare would naturally altogether eschew the cheap and tawdry poetic devices of *The Troublesome Reign*, the author of that text had he been following Shakespeare could hardly have avoided time after time falling beneath the spell of his genius.

One final parallel of the kind will perhaps clinch the matter for most readers. The author of *The Troublesome Reign* is fond of occasionally dropping into stilted

<sup>1</sup> The only instances I have observed are to be found in my notes on 2. 1. 251-52; 4. 3. 153; 5. 1. 14-16, 72; 5. 2. 149-52.



rhyming couplets by way of adding a little jog-trot to his pedestrian blank verse. If any of his rhymes can be found worked up into Shakespeare's blank verse, will they not go near to proving the case? Fortunately such evidence is not lacking. The parallel occurs at approximately the same dramatic point in both texts, viz. immediately after John's admission of Arthur's death in the coronation scene (4. 2; 1. xiii). The exit of the angry lords is succeeded in *The Troublesome Reign* by a long soliloquy on John's part which contains the following couplets:

Why all is one, such luck shall haunt his game,  
To whome the diuell owes an open shame  
His life a foe that leueld at my crowne,  
His death a frame to pull my building downe.

In other words, Arthur is equally dangerous to me, alive or dead; the Devil wins the game whatever card I play. This dilemma is, as I shall point out later<sup>1</sup>, a recurring theme of the play, and one upon which the writer's whole conception of John's situation and character turns. It is not, however, Shakespeare's conception, and he has nothing corresponding with the soliloquy. Nevertheless, as he read through or remembered his predecessor's version, the two words 'shame' and 'game' somehow stuck in his mind, as is evident from the following words which he gives to the indignant Salisbury, just before the lords depart:

It is apparent foul-play, and 'tis shame  
That greatness should so grossly offer it:  
So thrive it in your game! and so, farewell.

These repeated verbal echoes throw a strange and fascinating beam of light into the inner recesses of Shakespeare's mind, which will not surprise those whom Professor Livingston Lowes has led along *The road to Xanadu*. This is not the place to follow it up. Here

<sup>1</sup> v. p. lix.

it suffices to have shown that so far as we have gone in casting up our account, William Shakespeare is clearly the debtor.

Indeed, the case for *King John* as the original version is a hopeless one. For consider what it involves. Shakespeare's play was not printed until 1623, so that the author of *The Troublesome Reign* could not have read it in print, and is most unlikely to have had access to the prompt-book. If then he based his text upon *King John* he must have derived his knowledge either from material provided by actors in the theatre, or from notes taken at performances, or from both. It is difficult to believe that the very numerous and exact correspondences we have been examining can have originated in this way. It is still more difficult to understand why the author, having apparently ample material at his disposal, should have completely stripped the play of all its poetry and taken the trouble to dress it up in fustian verse of his own; should have reconstructed the whole in the light of an independent reading of the chronicles, so that he produced a text which followed them far more closely than Shakespeare himself had done; and should have gone out of his way not only to infuse the play with a strong anti-Catholic bias but also to substitute a harassed, if erring, martyr-king for Shakespeare's sinister John; and all this in order to prepare copy for a publisher, who could not have given him more than a few shillings for his pains!

It is true that there are certain features of *King John* and *The Troublesome Reign* which the foregoing arguments leave unexplained. At three points, for example, Shakespeare might appear to have made use of historical or quasi-historical material not found in the source-play; and if this were so the case for his dependence upon it would be weakened. Reference to my notes at 4. 2. 120; 5. 3. 16; 5. 6. 30 will show, however, that such direct access to the chronicles is an illusion. There is, again,



clearly some connexion, perhaps a close one, between *The Troublesome Reign* on the one hand and on the other 2 and 3 *Henry VI* and their 'bad' quartos *The First Part of the Contention* and *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*. What the connexion amounts to can only be rightly determined by an edition of *The Troublesome Reign* in the light of modern scholarship. Such an edition is much to be desired. But when it appears, I shall be surprised if it reveals links which cannot be explained as borrowings from the text of 1591 either by the pirates of the 'bad' quartos or by the author of 2 and 3 *Henry VI* himself. Certainly, this explanation would hold good for the parallels pointed out by Malone, who first drew attention to the connexion in his *Dissertation on the Three Parts of Henry VI*<sup>1</sup>. It is, therefore, impossible to argue, I think, that *The Troublesome Reign* is allied to *The First Part of the Contention* and its sorry partner by the bonds of common authorship. Lastly, in comparing *King John* and *The Troublesome Reign* in detail we come upon one or two matters, slight but not in my opinion insignificant, which make it difficult to suppose that Shakespeare actually made use of the text published in 1591<sup>2</sup>. The solution of this problem, I suggest, is that what Shakespeare worked upon for his *King John* was not the published text but a prompt-copy of the play which the anonymous author had sold to the Queen's company, which as he himself informs us on his title-page had played it 'sundry times' before it got into print, and from which Shakespeare's own company eventually purchased it. Indeed, if as Dr Pollard has suggested<sup>3</sup> Shakespeare was once actually a Queen's man, he may have brought the play with him, while had he acted in it such an experience would

<sup>1</sup> v. Boswell's *Malone* (1821), xviii, 591.

<sup>2</sup> v. p. xlv and note 5. 3. 16.

<sup>3</sup> v. pp. 13 ff. of his Introduction to *Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III*, by Peter Alexander.

entirely account for those innumerable little verbal echoes in *King John* which I have noted above and which are for the most part obviously the result of unconscious tricks of memory. In fine, the traditional view of the relationship between the two texts is the only possible one. Shakespeare based his *King John* upon *The Troublesome Reign*; he followed his original as closely as his greatly superior dramatic and poetic powers allowed; and he made use of no other source whatsoever.

### III

#### *Shakespeare's revision of 'The Troublesome Reign'*

*King John*, being the only Shakespearian play the non-Shakespearian original for which has survived, offers a unique opportunity of studying the way in which Shakespeare handled the material given him, and thence of inferring to some extent his method of dealing in other plays with sources that are now lost. Strange to say, however, though there has been endless discussion of the manner in which he refashioned the plays of his predecessors, very little serious work has been done on the single instance where the refashioning is patent and indisputable<sup>1</sup>. We have already observed some of the results of this rehandling in the inconsistencies and obscurities which prove that the rehandling took place. It is now time to examine the matter at once more closely and more directly.

The subject is of first-class importance for Shakespearian textual criticism and deserves a book to itself.

<sup>1</sup> The two best and most elaborate essays on the subject known to me are (i) 'Shakespeare as an Adapter,' by Edward Rose, *op. cit.*, and (ii) 'Shakespeare als Bearbeiter des *King John*,' by F. Liebermann, three articles printed in vols. cxlii, cxliii of *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*.

In this edition I can do nothing more than make, in the Notes that follow, a cursory and provisional comparison of the two plays as regards details of construction and characterisation, and say something in general here on the difference in style and on the way Shakespeare manipulated the plot that his predecessor gave him. Both matters are well illustrated by the brief opening section of the first scene, which deals with John's accession and the embassy from France; and I propose to quote this section from *The Troublesome Reign*, so that the reader may have at least a portion of the original play before him. I modernise the spelling and punctuation, in order that he may read it under the same conditions as he reads its revision by Shakespeare printed below.

*Enter King John, Queen Elinor his mother, William Marshall Earl of Pembroke, the Earls of Essex and of Salisbury.*

*Q. Elinor.* Barons of England and my noble lords,  
Though God and fortune have bereft from us  
Victorious Richard, scourge of infidels,  
And clad this land in stole of dismal hue,  
Yet give me leave to joy, and joy you all, 5  
That from this womb hath sprung a second hope,  
A king that may in rule and virtue both  
Succeed his brother in his empery.

*K. John.* My gracious mother-queen and barons all,  
Though far unworthy of so high a place 10  
As is the throne of mighty England's king,  
Yet John, your lord, contented discontent,  
Will, as he may, sustain the heavy yoke  
Of pressing cares that hang upon a crown.  
My lord of Pembroke and Lord Salisbury, 15  
Admit the Lord Chatillion to our presence,  
That we may know what Philip, King of France,  
By his ambassadors requires of us.

*Q. Elinor.* Dare lay my hand that Elinor can guess  
Whereto this weighty embassy doth tend; 20  
If of my nephew Arthur and his claim,  
Then say, my son, I have not missed my aim.



*Enter Chatillion and the two earls.*

*K. John.* My Lord Chatillion, welcome into England:  
How fares our brother, Philip, King of France?

25 *Chatillion.* His highness at my coming was in health,  
And willed me to salute your majesty,  
And say the message he hath given in charge.

*K. John.* And spare not man; we are prepared to hear.

*Chatillion.* Philip, by the grace of God, most Christian  
30 King of France, having taken into his guardain<sup>1</sup> and  
protection Arthur, Duke of Britain, son and heir of Geffrey,  
thine elder brother, requireth in the behalf of the said  
Arthur the kingdom of England, with the lordship of  
Ireland, Poitiers, Anjou, Touraine, Maine; and I attend  
35 thine answer.

*K. John.* A small request! Belike he makes account  
That England, Ireland, Poitiers, Anjou, Touraine, Maine  
Are nothing for a king to give at once;  
I wonder what he means to leave for me.  
40 Tell Philip he may keep his lords at home  
With greater honour than to send them thus  
On embassades that not concern himself,  
Or if they did would yield but small return.

*Chatillion.* Is this thine answer?

45 *K. John.* It is; and too good an answer for so proud a  
message.

*Chatillion.* Then King of England, in my master's name,  
And in Prince Arthur, Duke of Britain's name,  
I do defy thee as an enemy,  
50 And wish thee to prepare for bloody wars.

*Q. Elinor.* My lord, that stands upon defiance thus,  
Commend me to my nephew, tell the boy  
That I, Queen Elinor, his grandmother,  
Upon my blessing charge him leave his arms  
55 Whereto his headstrong mother pricks him so:  
Her pride we know and know her for a dame  
That will not stick to bring him to his end,  
So may she bring herself to rule a realm.  
Next wish him to forsake the King of France,  
60 And come to me and to his uncle here,  
And he shall want for nothing at our hands.

<sup>1</sup> Probably a misprint for 'guardiance.'



*Chatillion.* This shall I do, and thus I take my leave.

*K. John.* Pembroke, convey him safely to the sea  
But not in haste; for as we are advised,  
We mean to be in France as soon as he,  
To fortify such towns as we possess  
In Anjou, Touraine and in Normandy.

65

*Exit Chatillion.*

The corresponding lines in *King John* are nothing remarkable; the kind of lines that Shakespeare could turn out by the hundred, almost without thought. Yet with what 'deliberate speed, majestic instancy' they move to an ear first filled with the mincing jog-trot of the verse just quoted; a verse entirely prosaic, and only saved from appearing to be what it is by a number of tiresome tricks, such as the omission of pronouns or auxiliary verbs (e.g. 'Dare lay my hand,' l. 19; 'that not concern himself,' l. 42), the repetition of words (e.g. in ll. 5, 47-8, 56, 57-8), and the employment of verbiage like 'ambassade' and 'emperry' or stilted phraseology like 'far unworthy of so high a place,' etc. Most striking of all is the almost complete absence of imagery. In the whole passage of sixty-four lines only two images are to be found; the trite picture of England 'clad...in stole of dismal hue' at the death of Richard, and the exceedingly clumsy, not to say ridiculous metaphor of John sustaining 'the heavy yoke of pressing cares that hang upon a crown.' One has only to compare this dead mechanism with the words by which Shakespeare's King John dismisses the ambassador:

Be thou as lightning in the eyes of France;  
For ere thou canst report I will be there,  
The thunder of my cannon shall be heard.  
So hence! Be thou the trumpet of our wrath  
And sullen presage of your own decay,—

to realise what Shakespearian revision meant and how great a stride Elizabethan drama made when the man from Stratford took it in hand.

The little changes in character and incident are equally significant. Shakespeare gives John and his mother scarcely more than half the number of lines that the earlier dramatist puts into their mouths; yet he conveys nearly all the same information and converts a pair of thin-lipped puppets into human beings at the same time. He accomplishes the latter half-a-dozen lines from the opening of the play in a couple of strokes:

*Elinor.* A strange beginning: 'borrowed majesty!'

*K. John.* Silence, good mother; hear the embassy.

Comment and reprimand are entirely natural; and once uttered, those who speak them require no further introduction. As for dignity, is there any question that Shakespeare adds cubits to the stature of the King John of the old play? The royal reply to Chatillion, part of which has just been quoted, is magnificent defiance, very different from the cheap sarcasm of the original. And Shakespeare throws over the trickery with the sarcasm. He will have nothing to do with the suggestion that Pembroke should dally on his way to the sea with the ambassador, so as to give the English troops time to get ready, a device so successful in *The Troublesome Reign* that we hear in the second scene that King John and the ambassador reach France in 'one self bottom.' Shakespeare's John declares that he will be in France as soon as Chatillion; and actually arrives immediately after. The effect conveyed is that of brilliant generalship, not of low cunning.

With all these gains, there is loss too of another kind. The author of *The Troublesome Reign* makes free with the material Holinshed and the other historians give him, as any dramatist was bound to do. For instance, he cleverly combines the Duke of Austria, as whose prisoner Richard Cordelion slew the legendary lion, with the Viscount of Limoges, in besieging whose castle Richard long afterwards met his death; and represents this

Austria-Limoges as wearing the dead king's lion-skin. But he has read his chronicles with care and Shakespeare would never, perhaps could never, have written a King John play unless the ground had first been thus prepared for him. The man who drafted *The Troublesome Reign* may be an insipid versifier and an uninspired journeyman playwright, but he knew how to distil the most excellent dramatic material from the chronicles in which he was soaked. Indeed, his play possesses all the ingredients of historical drama except dramatic life. Nor did these ingredients consist of ill-assorted lumps of information got together by laborious pedantry. The stuff had been predigested for Shakespeare, fused in the crucible of an imagination of no mean order, though not of a high dramatic order.

Take for example the character of the real hero, the Bastard Faulconbridge. Shakespeare gave him immortality; but he was already partly alive in the old play. There is, for instance, both life and wit in the following remarks spoken to Lady Faulconbridge towards the end of the opening scene:

Come, madam, come, you need not be so loath;  
The shame is sharéd equal twixt us both.  
Is't not a slackness in me, worthy blame,  
To be so old and cannot write my name?

And again, after her confession,

Then, Robin Fauconbridge, I wish thee joy,  
My sire a King and I a landless boy.  
God's Lady, Mother, the world is in my debt,  
There's something owing to Plantaginet!

This wag was fashioned out of memories of at least four and possibly five separate bastards which the author of the play had come across in his reading. The original suggestion was probably a passage in Holinshed which relates how, in the year 1199,

Philip, bastard sonne to king Richard, to whome his father had giuen the castell and honor of Coinacke, killed



the vicount of Limoges, in reuenge of his fathers death, who was slaine (as yee haue heard) in besieging the castell of Chalus Cheuerell<sup>1</sup>.

Here is the name Philip, the relationship to Richard I, and the hatred for Limoges. Holinshed also speaks of a certain 'Foukes de Brent,' a soldier of fortune, whom John had 'in great estimation'; and to this man, as Steevens long since pointed out, the character in the play owes something, since he was one of John's doughtiest supporters against the barons and Lewis, on one occasion pillaged the town of St Albans and exacted a large sum from the Abbot, and is described by Matthew Paris in the following words which remind us forcibly of Philip:

About this time there was one Faulkes de Breaute, a native of Normandy, a bastard by his mother's side, who had lately come on a scurvy horse, with a pad on his back, to enter the King's service<sup>2</sup>.

Philip's choice of royal parentage in preference to property and respectability is derived, Boswell-Stone shows, from the story of yet a third bastard, Dunois, the Bastard of Orleans, who, as related at length in Hall's chronicle, coming to Paris 'to claime his inheritaunce, as sonne to the lord of Cawni, which was an honorable liuinge, and an auncient patrimony,' when asked by the judges whose son he was, boldly answered:

My harte geueth me, and my noble corage telleth me, that I am the sonne of the noble Duke of Orleauce; more glad to be his Bastarde, wyth a meane liuyng, then the lawful sonne of that coward cuckolde Cauny, with hys foure thousande crounes [a year]<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> v. *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History*, trans. by J. A. Giles (Bohn, ii, 454 n). The reference is to the reign of Henry III, but that does not detract from the relevance of the description. Cf. also *Cambridge Medieval History*, vi, 247 ff.

<sup>3</sup> v. Boswell-Stone, *op. cit.* p. 49.



A similar story is told by Stowe of one Morgan, bishop-elect of Durham, whose election was not confirmed in Rome because he was the bastard of Henry II<sup>1</sup>. The words of Dunois are so much in the spirit of Philip that we need not hesitate to prefer his claims to those of Morgan, although he belongs to a much later period, and is actually a character in 1 *Henry VI*. Finally, unless I am much mistaken, it is to another bastard of the same period, also mentioned in Hall's chronicle, that Philip owes the name Faulconbridge, viz. 'Thomas Neucl, the bastard sonne to William lord Fauconbridge, the valyant capitayne; a man of no lesse corage then audacitie<sup>2</sup>,' who is spoken of in a line of 3 *Henry VI* (1. 1. 239), which runs:

Stern Falconbridge commands the narrow seas.

In short, Philip, the son of Lady Faulconbridge, appears to be compounded of most of the valiant bastards in English history.

This is only one among many examples of the relation between *The Troublesome Reign* and its historical sources which give an impression of a playwright who pored over the chronicles for the love of them, who had a passion for the glorious past of his country, and who did his utmost to represent the spirit of that past as faithfully as the mirror of dramatic art allows. Thus, to return to 1. 1, he opens the play by making it clear that John has succeeded his brother Richard I, with the help of the queen-mother and the consent of the barons, and he skilfully expounds the question of Arthur's claims and King Philip of France's support of them by means of an embassy for which history gave him no warrant.

Shakespeare's attitude is very different. It is obvious from the outset that he cares not a rap for the accuracy of historical detail, provided he can secure the dramatic effects he desires, and that he only gives half a mind even

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 294.

to the facts in the play before him. Anxious as usual to arrest the attention of his audience at the earliest possible moment, he cuts out the preface about the succession and begins with the French ambassador, in order to introduce exciting matter at once and to strike the patriotic keynote of the play. But having thus suppressed the name of John's immediate predecessor, he inevitably leaves the impression that the dead king is Arthur's father, Geoffrey, an impression he accentuates by making Chatillion speak of Geoffrey as 'thy deceased brother' instead of 'thine elder brother,' which are the words of *The Troublesome Reign*. And that he himself to some extent confuses Richard and Geoffrey is clear from the beginning of act 2, where his French King refers to Richard as the 'great forerunner' of Arthur's 'blood' and to Arthur as Richard's 'posterity,' while in his reply Arthur speaks of himself as Cordelion's 'offspring.' Most editors<sup>1</sup> are careful to explain that Shakespeare is here using his terms loosely and that he, of course, means 'nephew' when he says 'offspring.' Shakespeare's knowledge of the genealogy of the kings of England was probably very hazy, and he was far more likely to be wrong in his facts than to use words loosely. I have little doubt that when he was revising 1. 1 he accepted Arthur's father as Geoffrey and took him to be John's predecessor, and that forgetting this when he reached 2. 1, where he found talk of Richard Cœur-de-lion, he assumed another parentage for the young prince. And though, taking his cue again from *The Troublesome Reign*, he refers to Geoffrey several times at 2. 1. 99-106, seventy lines later again he makes Arthur Queen Elinor's 'eldest son's son' which shows that he is still confusedly thinking of Richard. After all the names in the source-text must have been very confusing to one innocent of

<sup>1</sup> Not all; Aldis Wright bluntly notes: 'By some strange carelessness Shakespeare here makes Arthur in the direct line of descent from Richard.'

what modern educationists call a historical background, especially if he was also devoid of a historic conscience; and, as we shall see, Shakespeare was to make worse blunders than this before he had done.

The Geffrey-Richard confusion is connected with another and more important change in 1. 1, which was I think deliberate. Though he rejects the opening speeches about the succession, Shakespeare makes use of their theme later in another and most interesting fashion. In *The Troublesome Reign*, 1. 1, there is no hint of anything seriously wrong with John's title to the throne; and though he is called a usurper by Arthur's adherents in later scenes, Arthur himself is made to chide Constance in the following significant speech, when she does so:

Ah mother, possession of a crown is much!  
And John, as I have heard reported of,  
For present vantage would adventure far.  
The world can witness in his brother's time,  
He took upon him rule and almost reign;  
Then must it follow as a doubtful point  
That he'll resign the rule unto his nephew.  
I rather think the menace of the world  
Sounds in his ears as threats of no esteem,  
And sooner would he scorn Europa's power  
Than lose the smallest title he enjoys;  
For questionless he is an Englishman<sup>1</sup>.

The issue is clear: Arthur has claims, as son of John's elder brother, claims supported by the French and by the Papal legate; John has still stronger claims, as *de facto* King chosen by parliament, and stands withal as the champion of Protestantism and England. In *King John*, on the other hand, Chatillion is confidently desiring John a dozen lines from the beginning of the play

to lay aside the sword  
Which sways usurpingly these several titles,  
And put the same into young Arthur's hand,  
Thy nephew and right royal sovereign.

<sup>1</sup> *The Troublesome Reign*, 1. ii. 19-30.



And that this represents the rights of the case and is not the idle taunt of a foreign foe, is shown by what follows. For after Chatillion's exit John and his mother hold a private colloquy on the subject of Arthur's claims, which concludes thus:

*K. John.* Our strong possession and our right for us!

*Elinor.* Your strong possession much more than your right,  
Or else it must go wrong with you and me:  
So much my conscience whispers in your ear,  
Which none but heaven, and you, and I, shall hear.

John is the hero of *The Troublesome Reign*, an Englishman, chosen by the barons of England in preference to the foreign Arthur, and fighting against foreigners and the Church of Rome. In *King John*, he is a usurper with no rights in the crown at all. Editors and commentators have overlooked this important fact. An Elizabethan audience would have been quick to seize it; and such a king would have forfeited their sympathy from the outset. Shakespeare's John is no hero, a matter upon which more must be said at a later stage.

Meanwhile, having watched Shakespeare at work in the first forty-three lines, we may note that his uncertainty about the names of historical persons was to lead to further confusion in other parts of the play, confusions amusing or shocking as one likes to view them. There was for instance the difficulty that the Bastard whose Christian name is Philip is almost immediately knighted by John as Sir Richard Plantagenet, and it is never quite clear afterwards what he ought to be called. Here the confusion is inherent in the text, is found in *The Troublesome Reign* as well as in *King John*, and does not create any serious problem. It is, however, complicated by the fact that Philip is also the name of the King of France, a fact which is, I fancy, in part responsible for another confusion, viz. between the Dauphin and his father. The King of France is called Philip once in 1. 1 of *King John* and twice in 1. 1 of *The Troublesome*



*Reign*; but by the time Shakespeare has reached 2. 1, i.e. some 415 lines later (mostly about the other Philip), he has forgotten that the name belongs also to the French king, whom he first describes as Lewis, which is of course the name of the Dauphin. There can be no doubt about the error, because it recurs in the dialogue at l. 149 where he is directly addressed as 'King Lewis' and replies in a speech headed 'Lew.' in the Folio text. Editors here alter 'Lewis' to 'Philip,' despite the fact that the change disturbs the metre, 'Lewis' being a monosyllable with Shakespeare: but they have mostly failed to observe that the confusion goes back to the beginning of the scene where two speeches, headed 'Lewis' in the Folio and most modern editions, ought obviously to be given to King Philip likewise. It should be noticed that when next the King of France is mentioned by name in the dialogue, which is not until 2. 1. 531, Shakespeare has the name right and never goes wrong afterwards. The 'Lewis' mistake was, therefore, merely a temporary aberration. To what was it due? The answer, I think, is that, whereas 'Philip King of France' occurs frequently in the dialogue of scene 1. iv of *The Troublesome Reign* which corresponds with 2. 1. 300–598 and 3. 1 of *King John*, it is not once found in that which corresponds with 2. 1. 1–300. In other words, Shakespeare having once forgotten the name had no clue to it until he began rewriting the fourth scene of his source-play. If this explanation be correct, however, it means that he was working from memory or from a prompt-book, not from the printed text of 1591, inasmuch as there the second scene of the play is unmistakably headed *Enter Philip the French King, and Lewes* etc., while the speech-heading *K. Philip* is frequent.

Perhaps, however, Shakespeare's most serious confusion of the kind is that, misled as I suppose by the surname 'de Burgh,' he identifies Hubert with the

First Citizen of Angiers. At his earliest appearance (2. 1. 200) the First Citizen is abbreviated '*Cit.*' in the speech-heading of the Folio text, but from l. 325 onwards all his speeches are headed '*Hub.*' except one at l. 368 which is by accident attributed to '*Fra.*' (= France, i.e. Philip of France). The anomaly has been long noted by editors, and Aldis Wright's explanation<sup>1</sup>, that it arose through the two parts being doubled by the same actor, has been generally accepted. Such doubling was a normal feature of Elizabethan acting, and may in this case go back to *The Troublesome Reign*. If so, and if Shakespeare had himself played in that drama, as I am inclined to think possible, he may have come to the writing of *King John* with the identification of the two characters firmly in mind. In any event, there can be little doubt that the confusion in the text originated with him, and not with the prompter of the company, as Aldis Wright appears to imply. And, if we suppose this, we have a clue to a problem in 3. 3 which has been passed over in complete silence by the commentators, so far as I am aware. King John, preparing to drop his dark but unmistakable hints for Arthur's death, begins thus ingratiatingly with the chosen executioner:

Come hither, Hubert. O my gentle Hubert,  
We owe thee much; within this wall of flesh  
There is a soul counts thee her creditor,  
And with advantage means to pay thy love:  
And, my good friend, thy voluntary oath  
Lives in this bosom, dearly cherishéd.

If we assume, as we are obliged to do in reading a modern text, that this is Hubert's first appearance in the play, the passage is baffling; it clearly points to some *particular* occasion on which Hubert has won the King's gratitude, and yet no such occasion has been spoken of before. Shakespeare is ready enough for the sake of dramatic

<sup>1</sup> v. *Cambridge Shakespeare*, iv, note xiv, and *Clarendon Shakespeare*, note on 2. 1. 325.

convenience or momentary effect, to bamboozle his audience:

You shall not know by what strange accident  
I chanced upon this letter,

exclaims Portia to Antonio at 5. 1. 278 of *The Merchant of Venice*, which means that the spectators are not to consider an impossibility too curiously<sup>1</sup>. But this is very different from deliberately and quite unnecessarily raising a curiosity which is left unsatisfied. Shakespeare wished to present Hubert as bound in past service to John, and his tact was capable of conveying the impression in a dozen ways better than the one before us. On the other hand, if Hubert and the First Citizen be one and the same person, as they are in the Folio text, then the speech obviously refers back to the great service performed by the spokesman of Angiers in 2. 1 in bringing about the match between John's niece and the French Dauphin, while the words,

                                within this wall of flesh  
There is a soul counts thee her creditor,

may even be intended to recall the part which the First Citizen, the soul within the walls of Angiers, had played while the two kings stood disputing without. Furthermore, Bigot's contemptuous question at 4. 3. 87,

Out, dunghill! darest thou brave a nobleman?

which implies that Hubert is of very mean birth, would be most inappropriate if addressed to the great Justiciar of history, though not at all so to a burgher de Burgh.

<sup>1</sup> v. *Merchant of Venice* (New Shakespeare), Introduction, p. xxxi. For another example v. note 4. 2. 168 below.



## IV

*The problem of a second revision  
and the problem of dates*

There remains one little puzzle in the passage just quoted from 3. 3 which is still unsolved. If we assume that John's praise of Hubert refers to his services as First Citizen in 2. 1, what precisely do we understand him to mean by 'thy voluntary oath'? The words connect with nothing that takes place in 2. 1 and there is nothing else in either *King John* or *The Troublesome Reign* to explain them. Yet they seem clearly intended to refer to some previous incident. Here, I think, we touch the problem of a second revision. In other words, my belief is that Shakespeare not only rewrote *The Troublesome Reign* but at some later date revised his own text, and that the 'voluntary oath' was taken, or referred to, in a scene of this first version which was cancelled in the second. Such a scene may well have concerned the marriage ceremonies in Angiers and may have stood between the 2. 1 and 3. 1 of the transmitted text; and, as it happens, we have quite other evidence for the cancellation of a scene at this point.

The Folio prints 'Actus Secundus' at the head of what we now call act 3, continues this 'actus' for seventy-four lines only, and then without any exeunt for the characters suddenly begins a fresh 'actus,' right in the middle of the scene, thus:

Actus Tertius, Scæna prima.

Enter King Iohn, France, Dolphin, Blanch, Elianor,  
Philip, Austria, Constance.

The new 'actus' begins, I say, in the middle of a scene, and Shakespeare obviously intended no break of any kind<sup>1</sup>. Yet it is, I think, equally obvious that a break

<sup>1</sup> For the problem this raises as to Shakespeare's use of act-divisions v. below, pp. 93-4.



once existed at this point, seeing (i) that it tallies exactly with the opening of a fresh scene in *The Troublesome Reign*, (ii) that the first seventy-four lines of act 3 (i.e. the Folio 'Actus Secundus') supply nothing required for the understanding of what follows, which begins quite in the manner of a new scene, and (iii) that the Folio, on the one hand, gives a new entry for Constance, who is already on, and, on the other, provides no exit for Salisbury and Arthur, who are her interlocutors for ll. 1-74 but have nothing to say for the rest of the scene. Sir Edmund Chambers commenting upon all this, and noting that the fresh act-heading and the stage-direction mark a 'juncture' which 'is very abrupt,' suggests that 'possibly an original 2. 2 has been cut<sup>1</sup>.' The suggestion seems to me very plausible, and possesses the additional attraction of clearing up the mystery of Hubert's 'voluntary oath.'

But the most striking evidence of textual disturbance belongs to 3. 4. It has long been remarked that at 3. 4. 68 Constance is given a speech, 'To England, if you will,' which bears no relation whatever to its immediate context. Aldis Wright was apparently the first to perceive its true significance. He writes: 'Constance here replies to Philip's invitation

I prithee, lady, go away with me

in l. 20. Possibly ll. 21-67 may have been added to the original draft of the play, or Constance after the first outburst of her distraction relapses into apathy and gives herself up to Philip's guidance<sup>2</sup>.' Upon this Mr Ivor John comments: 'the alternative suggestion that Constance is sinking into apathy after her first outburst is not convincing because in the next line she resumes her lamentations<sup>3</sup>.' An even stronger objection to the

<sup>1</sup> v. *William Shakespeare*, i, 365.

<sup>2</sup> *King John* (Clarendon Shakespeare), note on 3. 4. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *King John* (Arden Shakespeare), note on 3. 4. 68.

suggestion, as it appears to me, is that it is unworkable on the stage, inasmuch as no audience after forty-six lines of dialogue would be able to associate Constance's reply with Philip's original question. Yet that her words are a direct answer to his cannot be doubted. All the talk during the first twenty lines of the scene has been of 'bloody England into England gone' and of the impossibility of making further head against him, so that the entry of Constance with the suggestion that Philip should, with her, pursue John to England and rescue Arthur, for that is what she clearly means, would be ironically pathetic.

We can then be pretty certain that the Folio text of *King John* has been disturbed at two points: by the deletion of a second scene in act 2 and by the insertion of forty-six lines into the fourth scene of act 3. These disturbances can only have taken place upon either of two possible occasions. They may be merely the result of second thoughts by Shakespeare at the time of his original revision of *The Troublesome Reign*, or, they may be traces of a second revision at some later date, a revision which is likely to have affected the text in other ways and at other points that cannot now be detected. Which of these two occasions is the more likely? I think the second, and I do so because I am convinced that the copy for the Folio text was not Shakespeare's original manuscript but a prompt-book made therefrom<sup>1</sup>. This means that the alterations must have been made after the prompter, or whoever was responsible for the production of the prompter's copy, had completed his work. Now, while it is of course conceivable that the original rehearsals revealed weaknesses or inconveniences in Shakespeare's draft which necessitated revision of the acting copy, it is surely more probable that such revision took place at a subsequent revival when a development

<sup>1</sup> v. Note on the Copy, pp. 92-3.

of the author's dramatic conception or the needs of a fresh cast would render it natural. In any case, the possibility of a second revision is substantiated by the textual facts and cannot be denied.

The question of revision is closely connected with the problem of the date, or dates, of the play, to which we must now turn. On the ground that *King John* is mentioned by Meres in 1598 and is based upon *The Troublesome Reign* of 1591, most previous critics have decided that it must have been written between these years. It is to be observed, however, that if I am right in supposing that Shakespeare may have used the Queen's prompt-book and not the printed text of *The Troublesome Reign*<sup>1</sup>, it is conceivable that he handled the play before 1591, while on the other hand though Meres knew of a *King John* in 1598 it is equally conceivable that it may have been revised for a Jacobean revival before Shakespeare retired from the stage, inasmuch as the earliest edition we have is that of the Folio of 1623. Apart from Meres there is no external evidence of any kind for dating, and no record of a stage-performance under either Elizabeth or James has come down to us. We are therefore thrown back upon internal clues and upon what appear to be affinities with other Shakespearian plays. Every year between 1591 and 1598 has been favoured by one critic or another<sup>2</sup>, and though most have found a close connexion between *King John* and *Richard II*, which is usually dated 1594-5, there is no consensus of opinion as to whether it preceded or followed that drama.

Before examining the play ourselves for contemporary allusions, let us glance for a moment at one important question, that of the company for whom Shakespeare wrote the play in the form it has reached posterity.

<sup>1</sup> v. p. xxxiii above.

<sup>2</sup> v. the table of suggested dates given by Furness, pp. 443-4, *King John* Variorum edition.



The actor, for example, cast for the Bastard must have been a large man with a bluff manner, who was I think Burbadge himself; and clearly Petruchio, Bolingbroke, Berowne, Mercutio, and probably Proteus and Antipholus of Ephesus, were played by the same person who played the Bastard. There is again the Bastard's legitimate brother, equally clearly played by a tall thin-faced fellow, whose comical figure Shakespeare exploits again and again, as Pinch, Holofernes, the Apothecary in *Romeo and Juliet*, Slender, Aguecheek and so on<sup>1</sup>. Constance, moreover, impersonated no doubt by a boy-player with a gift for vigorous invective, reminds us not only of Margaret in *Richard III* but also of Adriana in *The Comedy of Errors* and Katherine the Shrew. Finally, the boy who played Arthur will have had both charm and pathos at command, and may have been cast for Julia in *The Two Gentlemen* and Juliet in *Romeo and Juliet*. In a word, the text of *King John* as we have it presents a play evidently fitted for the company of the Chamberlain's Men, which was first formed in the spring of 1594, the part of the Bastard being especially suited to the leading player of that company.

The play itself is rather rich in contemporary allusions, and these, it is striking to notice, all point to the early nineties. When, for instance, in retort to his mother's epithet 'knave' the Bastard in 1. 1. 244 exclaims

Knight, knight, good mother, Basiliscolike,

he is alluding to a scene in *Soliman and Perseda*, which is usually attributed to Kyd, was entered in the *Stationers' Register* on November 20, 1592, and was later printed (without date) by 'Edward Allde for Edward White.' We have no knowledge for what company it was originally written, but its name never appears in Hen-

<sup>1</sup> Professor Allison Gaw identifies him with John Sincklo, v. *Anglia*, xlix, 289-303.



slowe's *Diary*, so that it is unlikely to have belonged at any time to the Admiral's men. The Bastard's words, moreover, imply that the audience for whom Shakespeare was writing would be familiar with Kyd's play on the stage, and suggest that the play was at the time in the repertory of his company. But whether the performances hinted at preceded or followed the publication in 1592 there is nothing to show, though an earlier date seems the more probable. Even more interesting is the link with another of Kyd's plays, *The Spanish Tragedy*, which is usually dated about 1589, was played sixteen times by the Lord Strange's men between March 1592 and February 1593, and was (like *Soliman and Perseda*) entered in the *Stationer's Register* in the autumn of 1592 to be later printed without date by 'Edward Allde for Edward White<sup>1</sup>.' The link is remarkable, inasmuch as it appears to show Kyd echoing Shakespeare, not Shakespeare Kyd. 'You are,' exclaims the Bastard at 2. 1. 137-8 to Austria, clad in Cordelion's lion-skin,

the hare of whom the proverb goes  
Whose valour plucks dead lions by the beard—

for which there is no parallel in *The Troublesome Reign*. The source of the proverb, as has been long noted, is the *Adagia* of Erasmus<sup>2</sup>, which gives us 'Mortuo leoni et lepores insultant,' but says nothing whatever about beard-plucking. When, therefore, Steevens quoted the following lines from *The Spanish Tragedy*, 1. 2. 170-2:

He hunted well that was a lion's death;  
Not he that in a garment wore his skin;  
So hares may pull dead lions by the beard,

he discovered a far more exact parallel, since Kyd not only introduced the lion's beard but is clearly alluding

<sup>1</sup> The edition almost certainly belongs to late 1592, v. W. W. Greg, Introduction to the Malone Society reprint of the 1602 text of *The Spanish Tragedy*.

<sup>2</sup> Erasmus himself takes it from Publilius Syrus.

also to Austria's wearing of Richard's lion's-skin. The question which no one has asked is: How came Kyd to associate the proverb, beard and all, with Austria, unless he knew the Bastard's speech in *King John*? It is of course conceivable that both references go back to some unknown source. But until that source is discovered, we have to face the likelihood that *The Spanish Tragedy* contains a passage derived from Shakespeare's *King John*<sup>1</sup>. Startling as this appears, it raises no insuperable difficulties, if we suppose that *The Spanish Tragedy*, in its present form (I exclude the well-known additions) belongs not to 1589 but to 1590 and that it and *Soliman and Perseda* and *King John* were all written for the same company during 1590-1, and thus came to reflect each other. Such a supposition implies that Kyd and Shakespeare were at this time fellow dramatists for the same company, which in itself is not at all impossible.

I suggest 1590 instead of 1592, because successful performances of a *King John* play on the London stage at this time would give point to the publication of *The Troublesome Reign* in 1591, and because *Soliman and Perseda* was not in Lord Strange's men's repertory during 1592. They were acting, however, another play, now lost, known from Henslowe's diary as *Jerusalem*<sup>2</sup>; and as this also seems to be referred to in *King John*, when the Bastard bids the English and French form

<sup>1</sup> Dr W. W. Greg, to whom I am indebted for valuable criticisms of this Introduction in draft, suggests that Kyd may have written his lines with reference to *The Troublesome Reign* and that Shakespeare, aware of this, borrowed back from Kyd in treating the same incident in *King John*. This is possible, but surely less probable than direct borrowing the other way round, while it is noteworthy that while Shakespeare speaks of 'the proverb' and thus seems to point directly to the *Adagia*, Kyd says nothing of any proverb.

<sup>2</sup> v. E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, i. 319.

a temporary alliance against Angiers 'like the mutines of Jerusalem' (2. 1. 378), it looks as if either they were themselves the company for whom Shakespeare and Kyd were writing in 1590-1 or had taken over play-books from that company. An early date fits in again with yet another passage in *King John*, that at the beginning of 3. 4:

So, by a roaring tempest on the flood,  
A whole armado of convicted sail  
Is scattered and disjoined from fellowship—

which is obviously an illusion to the scattering of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Finally, it may be remarked, the reference at 5. 2. 144 to Frenchmen thrilling and shaking

Even at the crying of your nation's crow,

links *King John* with still another early play<sup>1</sup>, *Edward III*, which many believe to have been written or revised by Shakespeare himself<sup>2</sup>, and which, though not entered in the *Stationers' Register* until 1595, may well have been played several years before<sup>3</sup>.

Taking all these matters into account, I hazard the conjecture that Shakespeare first undertook the rewriting of *The Troublesome Reign* in 1590 for some company unknown, and that this may have been his earliest attempt, unless *Edward III* was earlier still, at historical drama; which would account for his high-handed treatment of historical facts and the complete ignorance of the chroniclers which his play reveals. But this first Shakespearian *King John* is not what has come down to us, since as we have seen he almost certainly revised it later. At what date is such revision likely to have taken

<sup>1</sup> v. note 5. 2. 144.

<sup>2</sup> v. an important essay on the subject, 'The Vocabulary of *Edward III*', by Alfred Hart in *Shakespeare and the Homilies*, pp. 219-41.

<sup>3</sup> v. E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iv, 9-10



place? The date I suggest is 1594, i.e. in preparation for or shortly after the formation of the new company under the Lord Chamberlain, of which Shakespeare was one of the leading men. If, as seems probable, this company differed considerably in personnel from that he was writing for in 1590-1, revision would be almost necessary in order to adapt it to the fresh cast; and, as noted above, the *King John* we have was clearly well adapted to the Chamberlain's company. Moreover, I cannot avoid a strong suspicion that the Bastard's great speech on Commodity has something to do with the 'conversion' of Henry IV of France to the Catholic faith in the summer of 1593, a conversion cynically agreed upon by the convert in the name of Commodity ('Paris vaut bien une messe'), and one that shocked his Protestant allies in England profoundly. Elizabeth informed him through the mouth of her ambassador that she could 'in no wise allow or think it good before God that for any worldly respect or cunning persuasion he should yield to change his conscience and opinion in religion from the truth wherein he was brought up from his youth, and for the defence whereof he hath continued many years in arms<sup>1</sup>'; words that come near to lines 2. 1. 564-7:

And France—whose armour conscience buckled on,  
Whom zeal and charity brought to the field  
As God's own soldier—rounded in the ear  
With that same purpose changer, that sly devil,

and lines 581-6:

And this same bias, this Commodity,  
This bawd, this broker, this all-changing word,  
Clapped on the outward eye of fickle France,  
Hath drawn him from his own determined aid,  
From a resolved and honourable war,  
To a most base and vile-concluded peace.

<sup>1</sup> v. G. B. Harrison, *Elizabethan Journal*, p. 252, July 14, 1593.



Such sentiments would aptly express English feelings about Henry's apostacy and the truce signed between himself and the League. It is noteworthy too that the whole speech is concerned with France's treachery to Arthur, which from the dramatic point of view, i.e. from the point of view of English foreign policy in *King John*, the Bastard should approve not condemn. Similarly King Philip's passionate appeal to the papal legate, at 3. 1. 224-52, to be allowed to remain in alliance with England<sup>1</sup> is out of focus dramatically, but would sound gratefully in English ears at a time when Rome appeared to be detaching a French king from his sworn alliance with anti-papal England. I see no reason for supposing that Shakespeare touched the play after 1594.

## V

*'King John' and the Elizabethan settlement*

To an ardent Protestant, who might have found much to delight him in Bale's *King Johan* and in *The Troublesome Reign*, *King John* would have seemed Laodicean. Nothing is more remarkable than the evident pains taken by Shakespeare to rid the play of the anti-catholic bias of his predecessors<sup>2</sup>. He entirely removes the long scenes which in *The Troublesome Reign* depict the Bastard's rude and unseemly adventures with the monks and the nuns, scenes which must in Dr Johnson's phrase have been 'very captivating' to a London audience. Nor does he show us the poisoning scene at Swinstead Abbey. Indeed there are no clergy of any kind among his dramatis personae, except the legate Pandulph, whose activity is strictly political. In a word

<sup>1</sup> The Philip of *The Troublesome Reign* displays no such qualms; cf. note 3. 1. 203.

<sup>2</sup> The subject is well treated by Liebermann (*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Bd. 143, pp. 186-88).

he almost succeeds in confining the issue between John and Rome to the ancient quarrel between the spiritual and temporal powers, which was the standing debate of the middle ages and had nothing necessarily to do with the reformation at all. Almost, I say, but not quite, since he could not with safety avoid some statement of the doctrine of Royal Supremacy. This, following his source, he puts into John's mouth in a single speech (3. 1. 147-60); but its force is discounted by the fact that John is neither the rightful king nor an admirable character. There follows, indeed, another reformation speech by John, condemning the sale of indulgences, upon which Pandulph excommunicates him in terms clearly intended to recall the bull of 1570 excommunicating Queen Elizabeth; but Constance then interrupts. In fine, the issue, which forms the main theme of *The Troublesome Reign*, is confined by Shakespeare within an episode of just over thirty lines and is presented with strict dramatic impartiality and after a fashion to which neither side could raise objection. Similarly, though Pandulph's lengthy speech later on in the scene, in which he argues that Philip's oath of allegiance to the church must take precedence of his recent oath of alliance with John, has appeared to many Protestant commentators a piece of quibbling casuistry deliberately framed to ridicule the Jesuits, a Catholic spectator would not necessarily have seen anything of this. Dr Johnson indeed remarks, 'I am not able to discover here any thing inconsequent or ridiculously subtle. The propositions that the voice of the church is the voice of heaven, and that the Pope utters the voice of the church, neither of which Pandulph's auditors would deny, being once granted, the argument used is irresistible; nor is it easy, notwithstanding the gingle, to enforce it with greater brevity or propriety.'

It is, however, in regard to the character of King John himself that Shakespeare departs most strikingly from the lines his predecessor laid down. The John of

*The Troublesome Reign*, it is true, no longer plays the part assigned him by Bale, a Moses of the reformation who leads his people to the frontiers of the promised land, and dies, at the hand of a poisoner, before he enters it. He has problems, moral and political, to face, which Bale shirked or of which he was ignorant. Chief of these problems is that of Arthur, who was equally dangerous to him alive or dead:

His life a foe that leueld at my crowne,  
His death a frame to pull my building downe.

In the end, this problem, together with the craft of his enemy, Rome, which takes full advantage of it, proves too much for him; and so upon his death-bed, the death-bed of a repentant sinner and a martyr, he likens himself to another Old Testament hero:

But in the spirit I cry unto my God,  
As did the Kingly Prophet Daud cry,  
(Whose hands, as mine, with murder were attaint)  
I am not he shall buyld the Lord a house,  
Or roote these Locusts from the face of earth:  
But if my dying heart deceaue me not,  
From out these loynes shall spring a Kingly braunch  
Whose armes shall reach vnto the gates of Rome,  
And with his feete treads downe the Strumpets pride,  
That sits vpon the chaire of Babylon.

Shakespeare's John is a very different person, about whom there is nothing either edifying or admirable. It is made clear from the outset that his rights to the throne are extremely questionable<sup>1</sup>; he is a murderer in intention, if not in fact, whereas in *The Troublesome Reign* the king is represented merely wishing for Arthur's death, never plotting it; he is shifty and, after a show of considerable vigour in the first two acts, while his mother is alive to abet him, weak and cowardly<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> v. pp. xliii–xliv above.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. F. E. Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery*, pp. 248–9, for a remarkable assessment of John's character.



In a word, so far from being the hero of the play, his character is evidently drawn as a foil to that of the real hero, the Bastard, whose stout loyalty is hard put to at times and who clearly regards Arthur as the rightful heir<sup>1</sup>.

This does not mean that Shakespeare, as some have imagined, was a pro-Catholic, writing with the intention of exhibiting the David of the reformation in his true colours. But it does mean, I think, that he quite deliberately set himself to hold the balance even between the two religious parties; so even that an adherent of neither might accuse him of injustice. And if we remember that while the bulk of his audience would be Protestant, he was at any rate about 1593-4 courting the favour of a young Catholic nobleman, the Earl of Southampton, his attitude is explicable. Not that there is anything time-serving or obsequious about it. If there had been, he would hardly have taken the risk of selecting a theme so ultra-controversial as *The Life and Death of King John*. Rather, as it seems to me, he offered patron and public a rehandling of a notoriously Protestant drama, in order to prove to them that even this subject could be treated without giving offence to any man, and to point the moral that for his day and for his England the supreme need was national unity. For the great conclusion:

This England never did, nor never shall,  
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,  
But when it first did help to wound itself.  
Now these her princes are come home again,  
Come the three corners of the world in arms,  
And we shall shock them: nought shall make us rue,  
If England to itself do rest but true—

is the theme of the whole play; and the character who speaks it is the mouthpiece of the author. In his bluff and half-cynical humour the Bastard, as I have suggested,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. note 4. 3. 154.



probably reflects the personality of the actor Burbadge who first played him. But his patriotism is all Shakespeare's. When he finds the dead Arthur, slain as he thinks at John's command, he cries

I am amazed, methinks, and lose my way  
Amid the thorns and dangers of this world—

which may well express his creator's own state of mind in a world of internecine religious strife. But John, for all his crimes and his weakness, is the only possible rallying point in the hour of extreme national danger; and it is the Bastard's duty to make the best of him. This he does by reproof, for the 'inglorious league' with the legate; by exhortation, to play the man and the king; and when John, recognising a spirit greater than his own, exclaims

Have thou the ordering of this present time,  
by acting as royal proxy and bidding defiance to the king's enemies in the magnificent speeches of 5. 3. The illegitimate son of Cordelion is an early Henry V, called by fate to prop the falling fortunes of a kingdom ruled by an earlier and meaner Macbeth. The situation makes awkward stuff for drama, but it can hardly be doubted that it was politically of great interest to Shakespeare's contemporaries, and that his handling of it won their plaudits. *The Troublesome Reign* had appealed to the spirit of sectarian bitterness. There is no bitterness in *King John*, not even against the national foes. It raises the whole issue to a higher plane, and appeals to the statesman's head as well as to the patriot's heart. How long it took English audiences and theatrical managers of later times to appreciate this spirit will be evident from the stage-history of the play.

J. D. W.

[illegible]

## THE STAGE-HISTORY OF *KING JOHN*

Three great acting parts, strong dramatic incidents and plenty of opportunities for scenery and costume are enough to explain the steady success of *King John* with both stage and audience. Shakespeare's handling of the relations between the English King and the Pope leaves the play unfit, as it stands, for use in propaganda on either side; and the invasion of England by the French has not been caught at in times of similar danger so much as might have been expected. The importance of the play in theatrical history lies in its being the chief vehicle for the introduction of archaeology into the theatre.

In his Introduction and elsewhere in this volume Professor Dover Wilson gives his reasons for thinking that Shakespeare's *King John* in its earliest form may have been first performed by some company unknown in 1591—that is, as much as five years before the death of his son Hamnet in August 1596 could have 'taught him what true grief was.' Before the mention by Meres in 1598 there is no external evidence to fix the date. Its name is in the list, dated January 12, 1669, of 'part of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Servants Playes as they were formerly acted at the Blackfryers and now allowed of to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Servants at the New Theatre'; but there is no evidence that the King's Company ever performed it.

Between 1660 and 1688 both Catholics and Protestants may have felt it too dangerous; but it is surprising to find no production of the play under William and Mary. The playbill of the revival at Drury Lane in February 1745 says 'Not acted 50 years,' but there is no

other evidence that the play was acted in London in the last half of the seventeenth century. Nor did anyone turn to it for political or religious purposes in the Fifteen as Colley Cibber did in the Forty-Five.

The play's first certain appearance was at Covent Garden on February 26, 1737. The immediate occasion is said by Davies to have been the news that Colley Cibber had made an adaptation of it for production at Drury Lane. In February 1737 Cibber addressed in the *London Daily Post* a letter to the 'Younger Gentlemen, Students of all the Inns of Court,' begging for a fair hearing of his play, 'which I had finished the Revisal of above Ten years ago;' but the story goes that the outcry against Cibber's tampering with the play so alarmed him that he 'went into the playhouse, and without saying a word to any body, took the play from the Prompter's desk, and marched off with it in his pocket'; and Pope's line in the *Dunciad* of 1742 (1, 252), 'King John in silence modestly expires,' is said to glance at the episode. The story sounds improbable; but at this period, when the Ladies of the Shakespear Club were bringing his plays, and especially his Histories, into high repute, the 'improvement' of the poet was not nearly so much in favour as it had been when Cibber made his version of *King Richard III* in 1700; and the old Poet Laureate had his enemies. The attacks on him may well have deterred Fleetwood from producing his *Papal Tyranny*, and have encouraged Rich to stage Shakespeare's *King John*, which caught on and was acted seven times before the end of March. The chief attraction was the acting of the Bastard by Walker (the famous Macheath of *The Beggar's Opera*), who, according to Davies, played the part better than anyone else, including even his admired Garrick. Delane was moderately well liked as the King; Mrs Hallam, though too fat to look like Constance, was 'natural and impassioned,' Bridgewater made the first of his many



appearances as Hubert; Arthur was played by a girl, Miss Bincks, and the Cardinal by Ryan. The remark that Fielding puts into the mouth of Apollo in *The Historical Register for the Year 1736*, that Shakespeare seems to have intended Chatillon 'as a ridiculous character, and only to make the audience laugh,' may give some indication of the way in which the part was played by Salway. The play was revived in the autumn of 1737 and acted, with a new prologue and some slight changes in the cast, several times in the season of 1738-39 (a moment at which Shakespeare's historical plays were in high favour) and again in April 1741.

At the Little Theatre in the Haymarket also Fielding had a hit at Cibber's attempt to 'improve.' On March 4, 1737, for the benefit of Miss Burgess, the favourite lady of the theatre, who took the part of Arthur, he produced *King John*, 'written by Shakespear. Supervised, read over, revis'd and unaltered,' concluding with an Address to The Ladies of the Shakespear Club.

Cibber's adaptation, called *Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John*, was produced at last at Covent Garden February 15, 1745—with the threat of the coming Jacobite rising to make it popular and topical. The title alone reveals the difference between Cibber's play and Shakespeare's. In his dedicatory letter to Lord Chesterfield, Cibber expressed his surprise that our Shakespeare should have taken no more Fire at 'the flaming Contest between his insolent *Holiness* and *King John*; and it was this Coldness that first incited the adapter to inspirit his *King John* with a Resentment that justly might become an *English Monarch*, and to paint the intoxicated Tyranny of Rome in its proper Colours.' Cibber, in fact, went back to the spirit of *King Johan* and of *The Troublesome Reign*.

O'erbearing Rome shall find  
Whene'er her holy Bulls presume to bellow,  
There's yet an English lion that can roar.

The play was old-fashioned in another way. It not only altered the construction and the plot; it also replaced Shakespeare's language, as the quotation is enough to show, with Cibber's; and that method of 'making fit' was no longer in fashion. Cutting out all Shakespeare's first Act, Cibber made up, largely from Shakespeare's ideas, but flattened out in his own language, a neat political play, in which the references to the Jacobite threat were plain to see. In Act III of *The Historical Register* Fielding makes Ground-Ivy (Cibber) say that the Bastard Faulconbridge is 'a most effeminate character, for which reason I would cut him out, and put all his sentiments in the mouth of Constance, who is much properer to speak them.' The jests in Fielding's play can hardly have been among the protests that had frightened Cibber into withdrawing his play, for the *Historical Register* was almost certainly not produced at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket before the end of March 1737; and Fielding had had time to discover that Cibber had written up the part of Constance and cut out all the Bastard's savage humour, and with it the characters of Queen Elinor and Austria. He rewrote the scene between Hubert and Arthur; and his addition to it of an episode in which Hubert overhears Arthur praying for him was greatly admired. The play was mounted splendidly. A procession of the Legate and clergy was followed by another of King John with two Abbots, nobles and officers of state; the King laid his crown at the feet of the Legate, who trod on it and returned it. There was also a funeral procession, in which Constance took Arthur's body towards Swinstead. But the cast was not first-rate. Quin as the King 'lumbered, growled, bellowed, and chanted'; but even so he seemed to have spoken the lines better than he acted the part. Ryan played what was left of the Bastard; Bridgewater was again Hubert; Theophilus Cibber played the Dauphin, his daughter Jenny was Arthur, and George

Anne Bellamy was Blanche. Cibber had taught them all 'the good old manner of singing and quavering out the tragic note,' which the audience of that date did not like; the only one to resist was Mrs Pritchard, who acted Constance. It was held that what could have been a fine production was spoiled by Cibber's bad advice and bad performance. He took the part of Pandulph, the best male part in his play; but he was seventy-four; he had lost all his teeth, his voice was old and weak, and the theatre was much larger than the Drury Lane that he had been used to. Pandulph was like Lord Foppington gone grave. For all that, the political interest must have carried the play, for it was acted ten times in February and again in April. It was seen at least once in February 1746, when the panic was long over, and after that it disappeared.

Vague references to a production of Shakespeare's *King John* by Garrick in 1744 probably intend that at Drury Lane on February 20, 1745. This was meant, no doubt (as Rich's had been eight years before), for a rival to *Papal Tyranny*; but Garrick seems to have been unjustly accused of 'managerial meanness' in his choice of a date. In 1750, when some of his best players had deserted him and competition between the two houses was acute, Garrick hoped (though in vain) to 'get out King John before 'em'; but in 1745 he waited till five days after the Covent Garden production and one day after Colley Cibber had taken his benefit. The great feature of his production was the Constance of Mrs Cibber. To Quin's amusement he had doubted her power to act the part, but the success of this great tragic actress was complete. In the eight or ten performances given that spring Garrick acted the King and Delane the Bastard; Macklin as Pandulph was, said Quin, like a Cardinal who had been a Parish Clerk; 'drowsy, sweet-voiced' Berry was Hubert, Miss Macklin, Arthur, and Mrs Bennett, Queen Elinor. It is probable



that the play was unaltered, except by the shortening of the longer speeches and the omission of a good deal of the marriage contract scene in Act II, including the scolding between Constance and Elinor, which no manager before Charles Kean cared to face; and Garrick's version, like every other version up to and including John Kemble's, borrowed two passages from *The Troublesome Reign*, of which the more important is the 'Alecto' speech for the Bastard in Act III. Garrick excelled in the last scene with Hubert (Act IV, Scene ii) and in the death scene. In the rest of the part he was held inferior to Delane, to Quin, and to Mossop, and after this season he staged the play no more for nine years. It appeared once on his stage in March 1747, when Delane (taking his benefit) assumed the part of the King; but it was Covent Garden which, now having Mrs Cibber in revolt from Garrick, returned from *Papal Tyranny* to *King John*, and in February 1751 staged Shakespeare's play with Mrs Cibber as Constance, Quin as the King and Barry as the Bastard. Barry failed in the part; he showed no ease, humour, gaiety, or gallantry. Most of that season Mrs Cibber was ill, and in her absence Constance was acted by Mrs Woffington. Seven years later, in April 1758, Mrs Bellamy first acted Constance in London, with Barry again playing the Bastard.

To return to Drury Lane, when Garrick, having got Mrs Cibber back, took up the play again in January 1754, he gave the King to Mossop and himself appeared for the first time in London as the Bastard. He had tried the part in Dublin in 1745-46; but it never suited him. He was too small and slight; and Simpson, who from the first had been his Robert Faulconbridge, would have made a better foil if he had not been as feeble in acting as he was in person. When Garrick had been planning the revival of the play in 1750, he had proposed to 'dress the characters half old-English, half-



modern, as in the *Black Prince* (a play by William Shirley produced in January 1750). In 1754 the characters were 'new dressed.' There is no evidence now whether the styles were mixed or not, but, thanks to Garrick or some adviser of his, archaeology in the theatre was budding by then, and the date makes it possible that all the costumes in 1754 were meant for those of King John's time. The play did well that season; but seven seasons were to pass before Garrick did it again. In his revival of December 17, 1760 his King was Thomas Sheridan, who had acted the part with him in Dublin in 1753-54. Mrs Yates now first tried Constance and was held to be next best, though a bad second, to Mrs Cibber; Arthur was (probably for the first time since the seventeenth century) acted by a boy, Master Kennedy, and Tom Davies, bookseller and biographer of Garrick, took the King of France. Of Sheridan, Churchill wrote in *The Rosciad* that 'he acts too much.'

In royal John, with Philip angry grown,  
I thought he would have knock'd poor Davies down.  
Inhuman tyrant! was it not a shame  
To fight a king so harmless and so tame?

But later lines show that Churchill admired him in the scene with Hubert (Act iv, Scene ii), which was regarded as the test scene of a performance of the part. This admiration for Sheridan was shared by King George III, who had succeeded his grandfather on October 26. He commanded a performance of the play on December 23; and Garrick is said to have been so nettled at the King's preference of Sheridan as John to himself as the Bastard that he withdrew the play. It is true that it appears no more in the bills of Drury Lane until near the end of the season, when Garrick and Sheridan both acted in it for the benefit of Mrs Yates, who played Constance, on April 2, 1761.

Garrick himself never after acted in the play. In the

spring of 1766 and the spring of 1767 it was seen once or twice on the stage of Drury Lane with Holland as the Bastard, Powell as King John, and Mrs Yates as Constance; and in February 1774 it was acted there four times with Palmer as the Bastard, Reddish as King John, Master Blanchard as Arthur, and Mrs Barry as Constance.

Meanwhile at Covent Garden *King John* had taken a new lease of life. In the winter of 1760-61 it was staged in opposition to the production at Drury Lane, with Smith very good as the Bastard, Sparks or Ross as King John and Mrs Ward as Constance. In December 1764 and in May 1766 it was revived there with Mrs Bellamy as Constance; and in the season of 1766-67 and again in May 1769 it was made the vehicle of a grand coronation procession, 'with the representation of Westminster Hall, and the Ceremony of the Champion.' Love of spectacle seems to have been the only reason for this display five years after the coronation of King George and Queen Charlotte. In December 1775 at Covent Garden Sheridan twice played the King, with Lewis as the Bastard and Mrs Barry as Constance. And so ends the story of *King John* in the era of Garrick, in which it had been often seen and treated on the whole with respect by all but Cibber.

Liverpool, Edinburgh and Bath saw the play in the last part of the century; and it was from Bath, where he had acted the King in 1776, that Henderson came to London to play the part at Drury Lane in November 1777 (it is rather strange that there is no record of a performance to 1780, when the Gordon Riots might have suggested a production with an anti-Papal tilt to it) and at Covent Garden in 1783 and 1784, to the Constance, first of Mrs Yates and then of Mrs Crawford. At the close of 1783 John Philip Kemble and his sister, Sarah Siddons, made their first appearance in London as King John and Constance (a part which Mrs Siddons

had taken up at Bath and Bristol in 1782), with Smith again playing the Bastard. It is said that this performance at Drury Lane was given by request of King George and Queen Charlotte; and it is hard to resist the suspicion that, with the relief of Catholic disabilities in the air, the King's pleasure in the play may have been largely political. The brother and sister appeared again at Drury Lane in November 1785 and on March 1, 1792. By the latter date John Kemble had become director of the stage at Drury Lane under R. B. Sheridan, and he gave the play several performances during the seventennineties; but it was probably not until 1800 that he planned his own production of it, as a rival to the attraction of Henderson and Miss Younge at Covent Garden. Kemble's production was announced for Saturday November 15, 1800; but it was delayed until Thursday 20, possibly because Mrs Siddons refused to appear until Sheridan had paid her some of her overdue salary. It was acted nine times that season, including a performance in May for the benefit of Charles Kemble. John Kemble printed his version of the play, dating it November 15, 1800. He cut the longer speeches pretty freely; Constance, the Bastard and Pandulph all suffer a little, and Queen Elinor is almost gone. Peter of Pomfret and Melun are clean gone. With the help of three lines from *The Troublesome Reign*, he touched up the killing of Austria by the Bastard, allowing the victor to bring on the lion's skin, not the head of the victim. He did a little characteristic juggling with English and French lords; changed 'God' into 'Heaven,' and funk'd Constance's famous pun on 'Rome' and 'room,' giving her a respectable 'leave with Rome to curse awhile.' He may or may not have known that that change had been made as early as 1734. He retained the two passages from *The Troublesome Reign* referred to above; but his original additions to Shakespeare were but two: a 'Hubert—Remember!' as the King's last word



in the scene of the temptation (an addition which lasted on into Macready's version of 1823), and five patriotic lines—no doubt very effective during the Napoleonic wars—for the Bastard towards the end of Act v, Scene i:

Sweep off these base invaders from the land;  
And above all exterminate those slaves,  
Those British slaves, whose prostituted souls,  
Under French banners, move in vile Rebellion  
Against their King, their Country, and their God.

There is no evidence in the book of any great splendour in the staging; certainly there was no procession (as there had been in *Papal Tyranny*) before the surrender of the crown—the King, Cardinal and others are 'discovered.' And there is no sign of any bias towards Rome in the manipulation of the dialogue by one who had been a student for the priesthood.

The play was in the Kemble repertory throughout. After leaving Drury Lane for Covent Garden, John Kemble staged it in 1804 and in nearly every subsequent season till 1817, his last. In 1812 Mrs Siddons played Constance for the last time, to be succeeded by Mrs Francis and Miss O'Neill. Kemble's last appearance as King John was on June 14, 1817, a few days before his retirement. Though this was one of his best productions, the King was not one of his best parts. He had studied it under Thomas Sheridan; but Hazlitt's objections to his acting of it at Covent Garden in December 1816, frankly written by one who had lately come under the spell of Edmund Kean, are only the most forcible expression of what had all along been the general opinion (though Boaden will not hear of it) that Kemble was too artificial, cold and solemn. Mrs Siddons, on the other hand, was at her best. This was her first introduction to the sort of Shakespearian character in which she excelled; and her Constance took its place beside her Lady Macbeth, Queen Katharine and Volumnia. It is clear from the accounts and from her own remarks upon



the part that she did not make Miss O'Neill's mistake of giving more of the 'vulgar'—the extravagant—than of the 'poetical' side of the character. She took especial care to bring out the tenderness of Constance's love for Arthur, and to make the swift transitions to wrath like a Royal lady, not a scold. 'Her very body seemed to think.' Queen Elinor was at first acted by Miss Tidswell, the 'aunt' of Edmund Kean; but nothing has yet been discovered to confirm the report that Kean, as a child, played Arthur under Kemble. The Arthur of 1800—or was a girl, Miss Kelly. Charles Kemble, promoted to the Bastard, did fairly well. Powell was a noble Pandulph, and Barrymore, G. F. Cooke, and Egerton were among the players of Hubert.

It was during Kemble's time that *King John* underwent the second of its two considerable alterations for the stage. Richard Valpy, headmaster of Reading School, rewrote the play for performance by his boys in 1800 'for the subscription to the Naval Pillar to be erected in honor of the Naval Victories in the present war'; and he got Pye, the poet Laureate, to write a prologue, which Valpy himself recited 'in the Uniform of the Reading Association, a part of the Berkshire Volunteers.' He had thought of taking *Papal Tyranny* as it stood; but for one thing Cibber had retained too little of the great original, and for another thing: 'In the present times, when the situation of the Pope had become a subject of commiseration to the Christian world,' he had felt it necessary to soften the features of Cibber's play, 'so far as historical evidence would permit him.' His play, which owes much to *Papal Tyranny* as well as to *King John*, is by no means a bad play. The 'indecencies' of the first Act are gone, as a matter of course; but the ending of the scene between Hubert and Arthur is excellent, and at least one of the Bastard's gibes must have brought the house down: 'France offer freedom! Was France ever free?' and so on to the expected reference to the 'Great

Charter of our Liberties.' This useful patriotic play found its way to the stage of Covent Garden in May 1803, with a revised prologue by Pye and a good cast that included G. F. Cooke as the King and Mrs Litchfield as Constance. It was acted a few times that year, but never after.

When Hazlitt began his account of John Kemble's King John with the words, 'We wish we had never seen Mr Kean. He has destroyed the Kemble religion,' he can hardly have been thinking of Kean's King John. The play was thrown on at Drury Lane in June 1818 near the end of an unsuccessful season, and it was only given three times. Kean was ill and out of favour with the public. He acted badly, and had for Constance no one better than Miss Macauley, newly come from Dublin, and for the Bastard, James William Wallack, still too young and light for such a part. Against him Kean had not only the memory of John Kemble and Mrs Siddons, but also the Covent Garden company, with Young as the King and Miss O'Neill or Mrs Yates as Constance. Young went on playing the part as late as 1827, and among those who acted Constance with him was Harriet Diddear (Mrs Faucit) who became the mother of Helen Faucit.

One of these productions with Young as the King under the management of Charles Kemble (who usually acted the Bastard) was a cardinal event in the history of stage-production in England. After a talk with J. R. Planché, Kemble had given him leave to design (unpaid) the dresses and the staging for *King John* and to superintend the production. The result was first seen at Covent Garden on November 24, 1823. 'Every Character,' said the playbill, 'will appear in the precise Habit of the Period, the whole of the Dresses and Decorations being executed from indisputable Authorities, such as Monumental Effigies, Seals, Illumined MSS. &c.' Evidently Planché was not afraid, as John

Kemble had been, of being 'called an Antiquary.' Charles Kemble and his company were very nervous; but Planché vividly describes the enthusiasm of the audience on the first night. The production caught on, and archaeology had settled itself in the theatre for nearly a century.

In March of that year, 1823, the part of King John had been played for the first time by Macready. He acted it again at Drury Lane in the autumn of 1824, with Mrs Bunn for Constance, Miss Smithson for Blanche, and Wallack again for the Bastard; and he was acting it regularly during the eighteen-thirties. In April 1836 he records a queer little episode, of a notable novelty in the play's history. When he came to 'the passage of defiance to the Pope,' there was something like a Catholic demonstration of protest—but this was the period of the 'Catholic revival,' and of Wiseman's famous lectures at the Sardinia Chapel. In those days Macready was dissatisfied with his own performance, and still more with that of Mrs Sharpe as Constance; and his triumph in the play, both as actor and as producer, did not come till October 1842, when he made it the last of his classic Shakespearian revivals at Drury Lane. Charles Kean was afterwards said to have been more accurate archaeologically; but the page after page of 'authorities' for costumes in Lacy's edition (representing Macready's production) show correctness in all its tyranny. One instance will be enough. In his previous production Macready had given Arthur only one dress—the usual light blue—and had cut out the lines about the ship boy. In 1842 Arthur must speak the lines and wear 'a tight blue jacket, white shirt, blue stockings and russet shoes, being the costume of a sailor boy of the 13th century.' But from all accounts Macready's scenery, painted by William Telbin, and the grouping and movement of the characters and the crowds were of the utmost beauty and dramatic fitness. And his version kept more



of Shakespeare's text than his earlier version. True, his list of characters is alarming—more than 40 against Shakespeare's twenty-two (it seems only fitting to find one of them 'William Plantagenet, Earl of Warenne—Mr Stilt'); and 'correctness' demands that the Bastard, no matter the metre, should be addressed as 'Sir Richard,' not as 'Faulconbridge'; but his play, for all that, is Shakespeare's. 'Gloomy and timorous guilt' were Bulwer Lytton's words about Macready's King John, and some held it to be his best Shakespearian part. With the 'manly pathos' of Samuel Phelps in Hubert, Anderson as the Bastard, and Helen Faucit as Constance, the revival no doubt deserved its success.

Ten years divided Macready's last great Shakespearian production from Charles Kean's first—the play in both being *King John*. In the interval, in 1846, Kean had made 'an experiment never before hazarded in America,' and had produced the play 'on a great scale of splendour' and all 'correct.' The critics praised it, and Mrs Charles Kean was much admired as Constance; but the American public was not interested in English archaeology and had been used to better King Johns than Kean—among them William Vandenhoff, whose son George acted the Bastard in this production. The play ran only three weeks. But Kean left his scenery behind him, and it was used by other producers of *King John* in New York as late as 1865. Kean had to wait for his proper audience until he staged the play in his first season at the Princess's Theatre, on February 9, 1852, with Planché to design the setting and Telbin to paint the scenery. Kean's aim was 'a total purification of Shakespeare, with every accompaniment that refined knowledge, diligent research and chronological accuracy could supply.' Purification here meant cutting away all that might have lingered on from the *Troublesome Reign* or been added by John Kemble. Kean's own adaptation was no more than severe but judicious cutting and the



alteration of a few difficult readings in the Folio. He was careful that there should be no offence, but Macready in 1842 had set the example of bringing back Constance's pun. For the other points, one glance at his edition of the play, with its preface and its Historical Notes to each Act, is enough to show how closely it belongs to its period and how just was Kean's claim that his production (the first, be it remembered, of a long series) tended 'to promote the educational purposes for which the stage is so pre-eminently adapted.' The preface assures us that 'the habits of many of the principal characters are copied from monumental effigies, care having been taken that those who out-lived King John, and were buried under the sovereignty of Henry the Third, are not clothed in emblazoned surcoats, such as appear on their respective tombs, since no instance of such ornament occurs before the year 1250'—to this height of chronological accuracy can you attain when you have a future Somerset Herald for your designer. Kean's must have been a gorgeous show, too, with plenty of spectacle to replace the missing poetry; and the scene of the surrender of the crown, which he placed in the Temple Church at Nottingham, may well have been impressive. In 1852 his cast included Alfred Wigan as the Bastard and Mrs Charles Kean, refined and tearful, as Constance; and, as Henry Morley wrote, there was 'a clever child, too, in Arthur, a Miss Terry'—that is to say, Kate Terry. When Kean revived the play at the Princess's on October 18, 1858, Kate Terry was playing Blanche, but he had for Arthur another Miss Terry, named Ellen, Ryder for Hubert (in her 'Memoirs' Ellen Terry records hearing old Mr Ryder declare that Kean had only engaged him for his 'damned archaeological figure'), Walter Lacy for the Bastard and Mrs Charles Kean again for Constance.

Meanwhile Phelps had staged the play in his first season, 1844, at Sadler's Wells, with Marston for the

Bastard and Mrs Warner for Constance. In 1865 he put it on again under Chatterton at Drury Lane, with James Anderson once more for the Bastard; and it 'spelt ruin' so incorrectly that it ran all through the autumn till Christmas and was revived in the following season (1866) with Barry Sullivan as the Bastard and Mrs Hermann Vezin as Constance. King John was a favourite part with Creswick, the rumbustious 'Phelps of South London,' in the eighteen-sixties and seventies, and Marston acted the Bastard for him.

Henry Irving never staged *King John*. It was put on by Beerbohm Tree at Her Majesty's Theatre on September 20, 1899. The part of the King was one of Tree's best, and his cast was first-rate, including Miss Julia Neilson as Constance, Lewis Waller as the Bastard, Mrs Crowe (Kate Bateman) as Queen Elinor, Louis Calvert as Pandulph, and 'a really wonderful boy,' Charles Sefton, as Arthur. The staging, needless to say, was both sumptuous and 'correct,' with scenery and costumes designed by Percy Anderson. For the scene of the surrender of the crown, Tree borrowed Charles Kean's idea of the Temple Church at Nottingham; and before that scene he introduced a magnificent dumb show of 'The Granting of Magna Carta.' A passage in the Introduction to this volume reveals the infelicity of this idea; and the waste of time involved the cutting of a good deal of Shakespeare. The play was arranged in three Acts, of which the first ended with Hubert's orders to kill Arthur, and the second with Arthur's death and the discovery of his body.

At the Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, *King John* was first staged by Osmond Tearle in 1890. The Benson Company first played it there in 1901, the year in which they gave a 'cycle' of the Histories consisting of *King Richard II*, 2 *King Henry IV*, *King Henry V*, 2 *King Henry VI* and *King Richard III*. At the first performance Lyall Swete was the King and

Elsie Chester, Constance, parts afterwards taken up by Mr and Mrs Benson, and the Bastard was excellently played by Frank Rodney. The Benson Company acted the play there again in 1909, 1913 and 1916; and in 1925, under Mr Bridges Adams, it was made the 'Birthday Play,' with Mr Randle Ayrton as the King. The Birmingham Repertory Theatre and the Maddermarket Theatre at Norwich have both staged it; and its performance in 1933 by the O.U.D.S. at Oxford was the last production in the famous New Theatre before its demolition.

In America, *King John* was first seen in the autumn of 1768 at the Southwark Theatre, Philadelphia, with David Douglass as the King, young Lewis Hallam as the Bastard and Miss Cheer as Constance; and this company took the play to the John Street Theatre, New York, in January 1769. Baltimore saw it first in the season of 1782-83, under Wall's management. Thereafter it enjoyed a fairly steady popularity till the middle of the last century. Professor Odell's history of the stage in New York enables us to follow the play's course in that city and to see Thomas Abthorpe Cooper, George Frederick Cooke, Robert C. Maywood, Junius Brutus Booth, Thomas S. Hamblin, William Vandenhoff and E. L. Davenport prominent among many players of the King; Cooper, J. W. Wallack, W. A. Conway, Thomas Barry, Forrest, Hamblin and George Vandenhoff all successful as the Bastard, and for Constance a long succession of ladies that includes Mrs Melmoth, Mrs Barnes, Mrs Duff, Mrs Gilfert, Mrs McClure and Mrs Shaw (afterwards Mrs Hamblin). Edwin Booth produced the play at his theatre in New York in 1873, and in 1909 it was acted by Robert Bruce Mantell at the New Amsterdam Theatre, New York.

HAROLD CHILD.

[illegible]



## TO THE READER

The following is a brief description of the punctuation and other typographical devices employed in the text, which have been more fully explained in the *Note on Punctuation* and the *Textual Introduction* to be found in *The Tempest* volume:

An obelisk (†) implies corruption or emendation, and suggests a reference to the Notes.

A single bracket at the beginning of a speech signifies an 'aside.'

Four dots represent a *full-stop* in the original, except when it occurs at the end of a speech, and they mark a long pause. Original *colons* or *semicolons*, which denote a somewhat shorter pause, are retained, or represented as three dots when they appear to possess special dramatic significance. Similarly, significant *commas* have been given as dashes.

Round brackets are taken from the original, and mark a significant change of voice; when the original brackets seem to imply little more than the drop in tone accompanying parenthesis, they are conveyed by commas or dashes.

Single inverted commas (‘ ’) are editorial; double ones (“ ”) derive from the original, where they are used to draw attention to maxims, quotations, etc.

The reference number for the first line is given at the head of each page. Numerals in square brackets are placed at the beginning of the traditional acts and scenes.

[illegible]

# KING JOHN

The Scene: now in England, now in France

## CHARACTERS IN THE PLAY

KING JOHN •

PRINCE HENRY, *son to the king* .

ARTHUR, *Duke of Britain, nephew to the king* .

*The Earl of Pembroke*

*The Earl of Essex*

*The Earl of Salisbury*

*The Lord BIGOT*

HUBERT DE BURGH

ROBERT FAULCONBRIDGE, *son of Sir Robert Faulconbridge*

PHILIP THE BASTARD, *his half-brother*

JAMES GURNEY

PETER of Pomfret, *a prophet*

PHILIP, *King of France*

LEWIS, *the Dauphin*

LYMOGES, *Duke of Austria*

CARDINAL PANDULPH, *the Pope's legate*

MELUN, *a French Lord*

CHATILLION, *ambassador from France to King John*

*A Citizen of Angiers*

QUEEN ELINOR, *mother to King John*

CONSTANCE, *mother to Arthur*

BLANCH of Spain, *niece to King John*

LADY FAULCONBRIDGE

*Lords, Ladies, Citizens of Angiers, Sheriff, Heralds,  
Officers, Soldiers, Messengers, and other Attendants*



# KING JOHN

[1. 1.] *England. The palace of KING JOHN*

*'Enter KING JOHN, QUEEN ELINOR, PEMBROKE, ESSEX, SALISBURY, with the CHATILLION of France'. Attendants.*

*K. John.* Now, say, Chatillion, what would France with us?

*Chatillion.* Thus, after greeting, speaks the King of France

In my behaviour to the majesty,  
The borrowed majesty, of England here.

*Elinor.* A strange beginning: 'borrowed majesty'!

*K. John.* Silence, good mother, hear the embassy.

*Chatillion.* Philip of France, in right and true behalf  
Of thy deceased brother Geffrey's son,  
Arthur Plantagenet, lays most lawful claim  
To this fair island and the territories,  
To Ireland, Poitiers, Anjou, Touraine, Maine,  
Desiring thee to lay aside the sword  
Which sways usurpingly these several titles,  
And put the same into young Arthur's hand,  
Thy nephew and right royal sovereign.

*K. John.* What follows if we disallow of this?

*Chatillion.* The proud control of fierce and bloody war,  
To enforce these rights so forcibly withheld.

*K. John.* Here have we war for war and blood  
for blood,  
Controlment for control: so answer France.

10

20

*Chatillion.* Then take my king's defiance from  
my mouth,  
The farthest limit of my embassy.

*K. John.* Bear mine to him, and so depart in peace:  
Be thou as lightning in the eyes of France;  
For ere thou canst report I will be there,  
The thunder of my cannon shall be heard.  
So hence! Be thou the trumpet of our wrath,  
And sullen presage of your own decay:  
An honourable conduct let him have,  
30 *Pembroke*, look to't: farewell, *Chatillion*.

[*Chatillion and Pembroke depart*]

*Elinor.* What now, my son? have I not ever said  
How that ambitious Constance would not cease  
Till she had kindled France and all the world,  
Upon the right and party of her son?  
This might have been prevented and made whole  
With very easy arguments of love,  
Which now the manage of two kingdoms must  
With fearful-bloody issue arbitrate.

*K. John.* Our strong possession and our right for us.  
40 (*Elinor.* Your strong possession much more than  
your right,  
Or else it must go wrong with you and me—  
So much my conscience whispers in your ear,  
Which none but heaven, and you, and I, shall hear.

'*Enter a Sheriff*' and speaks aside with *Essex*

*Essex.* My liege, here is the strangest controversy,  
Come from the country to be judged by you,  
That e'er I heard: shall I produce the men?

*K. John.* Let them approach...  
Our abbeyes and our priories shall pay  
This expedition's charge...

*ROBERT FAULCONBRIDGE and PHILIP  
his bastard brother enter*

What men are you?

*Bastard.* Your faithful subject I, a gentleman, 50  
Born in Northamptonshire, and eldest son,  
As I suppose, to Robert Faulconbridge,  
A soldier, by the honour-giving hand  
Of Cordelion knighted in the field.

*K. John.* What art thou?

*Robert.* The son and heir to that same Faulconbridge.

*K. John.* Is that the elder, and art thou the heir?  
You came not of one mother then, it seems.

*Bastard.* Most certain of one mother, mighty king—  
That is well known—and as I think one father: 60  
But for the certain knowledge of that truth  
I put you o'er to heaven and to my mother;  
Of that I doubt, as all men's children may.

*Elinor.* Out on thee, rude man! thou dost shame  
thy mother,  
And wound her honour with this diffidence.

*Bastard.* I, madam? no, I have no reason for it,  
That is my brother's plea and none of mine,  
The which if he can prove, a' pops me out  
At least from fair five hundred pound a year:  
Heaven guard my mother's honour, and my land! 70

*K. John.* A good blunt fellow...Why, being  
younger born,  
Doth he lay claim to thine inheritance?

*Bastard.* I know not why, except to get the land:  
But once he slandered me with bastardy:  
Now whe'r I be as true begot or no,  
That still I lay upon my mother's head,  
But that I am as well begot, my liege,

(Fair fall the bones that took the pains for me!)  
Compare our faces and be judge yourself.

80 If old Sir Robert did beget us both,  
And were our father, and this son like him,  
O old Sir Robert, father, on my knee  
I give heaven thanks I was not like to thee!

*K. John.* Why, what a madcap hath heaven lent us here!

(*Elinor.* He hath a trick of Cordelion's face,  
The accent of his tongue affecteth him:  
Do you not read some tokens of my son  
In the large composition of this man?)

(*K. John.* Mine eye hath well examinéd his parts,  
90 And finds them perfect Richard...[*aloud, to Robert*]  
Sirrah, speak,

What doth move you to claim your brother's land?

*Bastard.* Because he hath a half-face like my father!  
With half that face would he have all my land—  
A half-faced groat five hundred pound a year!

*Robert.* My gracious liege, when that my father lived,  
Your brother did employ my father much—

*Bastard.* Well, sir, by this you cannot get my land,  
Your tale must be how he employed my mother.

*Robert.* And once dispatched him in an embassy  
100 To Germany, there with the emperor  
To treat of high affairs touching that time:  
Th' advantage of his absence took the king,  
And in the mean time sojourned at my father's;  
Where how he did prevail I shame to speak,  
But truth is truth: large lengths of seas and shores  
Between my father and my mother lay,  
As I have heard my father speak himself,  
When this same lusty gentleman was got:  
Upon his death-bed he by will bequeathed  
110 His lands to me, and took it on his death



That this my mother's son was none of his;  
And if he were, he came into the world  
Full fourteen weeks before the course of time:  
Then, good my liege, let me have what is mine,  
My father's land, as was my father's will.

*K. John.* Sirrah, your brother is legitimate,  
Your father's wife did after wedlock bear him:  
And if she did play false, the fault was hers,  
Which fault lies on the hazards of all husbands  
That marry wives: tell me, how if my brother, 120  
Who as you say took pains to get this son,  
Had of your father claimed this son for his?  
In sooth, good friend, your father might have kept  
This calf, bred from his cow, from all the world:  
In sooth, he might: then, if he were my brother's,  
My brother might not claim him, nor your father  
Being none of his refuse him: this concludes—  
My mother's son did get your father's heir,  
Your father's heir must have your father's land.

*Robert.* Shall then my father's will be of no force 130  
To dispossess that child which is not his?

*Bastard.* Of no more force to dispossess me, sir,  
Than was his will to get me, as I think.

*Elinor.* Whether hadst thou rather be a Faulconbridge,  
And like thy brother, to enjoy thy land,  
Or the reputed son of Cordelion,  
Lord of thy presence and no land beside?

*Bastard.* Madam, an if my brother had my shape,  
And I had his, Sir Robert's his, like him,  
And if my legs were two such riding-rods, 140  
My arms such eel-skins stuffed, my face so thin  
That in mine ear I durst not stick a rose  
Lest men should say 'Look, where three-farthings goes!'  
And, to his shape, were heir to all this land,

Would I might never stir from off this place,  
I would give it every foot to have this face;  
I would not be Sir Nob in any case.

*Elinor.* I like thee well: wilt thou forsake thy fortune,  
Bequeath thy land to him, and follow me?

150 I am a soldier, and now bound to France.

*Bastard.* Brother, take you my land, I'll take my chance;  
Your face hath got five hundred pound a year,  
Yet sell your face for five pence and 'tis dear:  
Madam, I'll follow you unto the death.

*Elinor.* Nay, I would have you go before me thither.

*Bastard.* Our country manners give our betters way.

*K. John.* What is thy name?

*Bastard.* Philip, my liege, so is my name begun,  
Philip, good old Sir Robert's wife's eldest son.

160 *K. John.* From henceforth bear his name whose  
form thou bearest:

Kneel thou down Philip, but rise more great—  
Arise Sir Richard, and Plantagenet.

*Bastard.* Brother, by th'mother's side, give me  
your hand.

My father gave me honour, yours gave land...  
Now blesséd be the hour, by night or day,  
When I was got, Sir Robert was away.

*Elinor.* The very spirit of Plantagenet!  
I am thy grandam, Richard, call me so.

*Bastard.* Madam, by chance but not by truth,  
what though?

170 Something about, a little from the right,

In at the window, or else o'er the hatch:  
Who dares not stir by day must walk by night,  
And have is have, however men do catch:  
Near or far off, well won is still well shot,  
And I am I, howe'er I was begot.

*K. John.* Go, Faulconbridge, now hast thou  
thy desire,  
A landless knight makes thee a landed squire:  
Come, madam, and come, Richard, we must speed  
For France, for France, for it is more than need.

*Bastard.* Brother, adieu, good fortune come to thee! 180  
For thou was got i'th' way of honesty....

[*'Exeunt all but Bastard'*]

A foot of honour better than I was,  
But many a many foot of land the worse....  
Well, now can I make any Joan a lady.  
'Good den, Sir Richard!'—'God-a-mercy, fellow'—  
And if his name be George, I'll call him Peter;  
For new-made honour doth forget men's names;  
'Tis too respective and too sociable  
For your conversion. Now your traveller,  
He and his toothpick at my worship's mess, 190  
And when my knightly stomach is sufficed,  
Why then I suck my teeth, and catechize  
My pickéd man of countries: 'My dear sir',  
Thus leaning on mine elbow I begin,  
'I shall beseech you'—that is question now;  
And then comes answer like an Absey book:  
'O sir,' says answer, 'at your best command,  
At your employment, at your service, sir:'  
'No, sir,' says question, 'I, sweet sir, at yours.'  
And so, ere answer knows what question would, 200  
Saving in dialogue of compliment,  
And talking of the Alps and Apennines,  
The Pyrenean and the river Po,  
It draws toward supper in conclusion so....  
But this is worshipful society,  
And fits the mounting spirit like myself;  
For he is but a bastard to the time

That doth not smack of observation.  
And so am I, whether I smack or no:  
210 And not alone in habit and device,  
Exterior form, outward accoutrement;  
But from the inward motion to deliver  
Sweet, sweet, sweet poison for the age's tooth—  
Which, though I will not practise to deceive,  
Yet, to avoid deceit, I mean to learn;  
For it shall strew the footsteps of my rising...  
But who comes in such haste in riding-robes?  
What woman-post is this? hath she no husband  
That will take pains to blow a horn before her?

*'Enter LADY FAULCONBRIDGE and JAMES GURNEY'*

220 O me! it is my mother: how now, good lady?  
What brings you here to court so hastily?  
*Lady Faulconbridge.* Where is that slave, thy brother?  
where is he,  
That holds in chase mine honour up and down?  
*Bastard.* My brother Robert? old Sir Robert's son?  
Colbrand the giant, that same mighty man?  
Is it Sir Robert's son that you seek so?  
*Lady Faulconbridge.* Sir Robert's son! Ay, thou  
unreverend boy,  
Sir Robert's son: why scorn'st thou at Sir Robert?  
He is Sir Robert's son, and so art thou.  
230 *Bastard.* James Gurney, wilt thou give us leave awhile?  
*Gurney.* Good leave, good Philip.  
*Bastard.* Philip Sparrow, James!  
There's toys abroad, anon I'll tell thee more....

*[Gurney goes]*

Madam, I was not old Sir Robert's son,  
Sir Robert might have eat his part in me  
Upon Good-Friday and ne'er broke his fast:  
Sir Robert could do well—marry, to confess—



Could he get me. Sir Robert could not do it;  
We know his handiwork. Therefore, good mother,  
To whom am I beholding for these limbs?  
Sir Robert never holp to make this leg.

240

*Lady Faulconbridge.* Hast thou conspired with thy  
brother too,

That for thine own gain shouldst defend mine honour?  
What means this scorn, thou most untoward knave?

*Bastard.* Knight, knight, good mother, Basilisco-like:  
What! I am dubbed, I have it on my shoulder:  
But, mother, I am not Sir Robert's son,  
I have disclaimed Sir Robert and my land,  
Legitimation, name, and all is gone:

Then, good my mother, let me know my father,  
Some proper man I hope, who was it, mother?

250

*Lady Faulconbridge.* Hast thou denied thyself  
a Faulconbridge?

*Bastard.* As faithfully as I deny the devil.

*Lady Faulconbridge.* King Richard Cordelion was  
thy father.

By long and vehement suit I was seduced  
To make room for him in my husband's bed:  
Heaven lay not my transgression to thy charge,  
That art the issue of my dear offence,  
Which was so strongly urged past my defence.

*Bastard.* Now, by this light, were I to get again,  
Madam, I would not wish a better father:  
Some sins do bear their privilege on earth,  
And so doth yours; your fault was not your folly.

260

Needs must you lay your heart at his dispose,  
Subjected tribute to commanding love,  
Against whose fury and unmatched force  
The aweless lion could not wage the fight,  
Nor keep his princely heart from Richard's hand:  
He that perforce robs lions of their hearts

May easily win a woman's.... Ay, my mother,  
 270 With all my heart I thank thee for my father!  
 Who lives and dares but say thou didst not well  
 When I was got, I'll send his soul to hell....  
 Come, lady, I will show thee to my kin,  
 And they shall say, when Richard me begot,  
 If thou hadst said him nay, it had been sin:  
 Who says it was, he lies; I say 'twas not.

[*they go*]

[2. 1.]

*France. Before Angiers*

*Enter KING PHILIP of France, LEWIS the Dauphin,  
 CONSTANCE and ARTHUR, meeting the DUKE OF AUSTRIA  
 (clad in a lion-skin) and his forces*

*K. Philip.* Before Angiers well met, brave Austria.  
 Arthur, that great forerunner of thy blood,  
 Richard, that robbed the lion of his heart  
 And fought the holy wars in Palestine,  
 By this brave duke came early to his grave:  
 And for amends to his posterity,  
 At our importance hither is he come,  
 To spread his colours, boy, in thy behalf,  
 And to rebuke the usurpation  
 10 Of thy unnatural uncle, English John.  
 Embrace him, love him, give him welcome hither.

*Arthur.* God shall forgive you Cordelion's death  
 The rather that you give his offspring life,  
 Shadowing their right under your wings of war:  
 I give you welcome with a powerless hand,  
 But with a heart full of unstained love.  
 Welcome before the gates of Angiers, duke.

*K. Philip.* A noble boy! Who would not do thee right?

*Austria.* Upon thy cheek lay I this zealous kiss,  
As seal to this indenture of my love:

20

That to my home I will no more return,  
Till Angiers and the right thou hast in France,  
Together with that pale, that white-faced shore,  
Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tides  
And coöps from other lands her islanders,  
Even till that England, hedged in with the main,  
That water-walled bulwark, still secure  
And confident from foreign purposes,  
Even till that utmost corner of the west  
Salute thee for her king—till then, fair boy,  
Will I not think of home, but follow arms.

30

*Constance.* O, take his mother's thanks, a  
widow's thanks,

Till your strong hand shall help to give him strength,  
To make a more requital to your love.

*Austria.* The peace of heaven is theirs that lift  
their swords

In such a just and charitable war.

*K. Philip.* Well then, to work; our cannon shall  
be bent

Against the brows of this resisting town.

Call for our chiefest men of discipline,

To cull the plots of best advantages:

40

We'll lay before this town our royal bones,

Wade to the market-place in Frenchmen's blood,

But we will make it subject to this boy.

*Constance.* Stay for an answer to your embassy,  
Lest unadvised you stain your swords with blood.

My Lord Chatillion may from England bring

That right in peace which here we urge in war,

And then we shall repent each drop of blood

That hot rash haste so indirectly shed.

*'Enter CHATILLION'*

50 *K. Philip.* A wonder, lady! lo, upon thy wish,  
Our messenger Chatillion is arrived.

What England says, say briefly, gentle lord,  
We coldly pause for thee, Chatillion, speak.

*Chatillion.* Then turn your forces from this  
paltry siege,

And stir them up against a mightier task:  
England, impatient of your just demands,  
Hath put himself in arms. The adverse winds,  
Whose leisure I have stayed, have given him time  
To land his legions all as soon as I:

60 His marches are expedient to this town,  
His forces strong, his soldiers confident:  
With him along is come the mother-queen,  
An Até stirring him to blood and strife,  
With her her niece, the Lady Blanch of Spain,  
With them a bastard of the king's deceased,  
And all th'unsettled humours of the land,  
Rash, inconsiderate, fiery voluntaries,  
With ladies' faces and fierce dragons' spleens,  
Have sold their fortunes at their native homes,  
70 Bearing their birthrights proudly on their backs,  
To make a hazard of new fortunes here:  
In brief, a braver choice of dauntless spirits  
Than now the English bottoms have waft o'er  
Did never float upon the swelling tide,  
To do offence and scath in Christendom:

*['drum beats']*

The interruption of their churlish drums  
Cuts off more circumstance. They are at hand,  
To parley or to fight, therefore prepare.

*K. Philip.* How much unlooked for is this expedition!

80 *Austria.* By how much unexpected, by so much



We must awake endeavour for defence,  
For courage mounteth with occasion.  
Let them be welcome then, we are prepared.

*Enter KING JOHN, ELINOR, BLANCH, the BASTARD,  
PEMBROKE, and forces*

*K. John.* Peace be to France: if France in peace  
permit

Our just and lineal entrance to our own;  
If not, bleed France, and peace ascend to heaven,  
Whiles we, God's wrathful agent, do correct  
Their proud contempt that beats his peace to heaven.

*K. Philip.* Peace be to England, if that war return  
From France to England, there to live in peace: 90

England we love, and for that England's sake  
With burden of our armour here we sweat:  
This toil of ours should be a work of thine;  
But thou from loving England art so far,  
That thou hast under-wrought his lawful king,  
Cut off the sequence of posterity,

Out-facéd infant state, and done a rape

Upon the maiden virtue of the crown:

Look here upon thy brother Geffrey's face—

These eyes, these brows, were moulded out of his; 100

This little abstract doth contain that large

Which died in Geffrey; and the hand of time

Shall draw this brief into as huge a volume:

That Geffrey was thy elder brother born,

And this his son: England was Geffrey's right,

*[he points to Angiers]*

And this is Geffrey's in the name of God:

How comes it then that thou art called a king,

When living blood doth in these temples beat,

Which owe the crown that thou o'ermasterest?

110 *K. John.* From whom hast thou this great  
commission, France,

To draw my answer from thy articles?

*K. Philip.* From that supernal judge, that stirs  
good thoughts

In any breast of strong authority,

To look into the blots and stains of right.

That judge hath made me guardian to this boy,

Under whose warrant I impeach thy wrong,

And by whose help I mean to chastise it.

*K. John.* Alack, thou dost usurp authority.

*K. Philip.* Excuse it is, to beat usurping down.

120 *Elinor.* Who is it thou dost call usurper, France?

*Constance.* Let me make answer: thy usurping son.

*Elinor.* Out, insolent! thy bastard shall be king,

That thou mayst be a queen, and check the world!

*Constance.* My bed was ever to thy son as true,  
As thine was to thy husband, and this boy

Liker in feature to his father Geffrey

Than thou and John in manners; being as like

As rain to water, or devil to his dam...

My boy a bastard! By my soul, I think

130 His father never was so true begot—

It cannot be an if thou wert his mother.

*Elinor.* There's a good mother, boy, that blots  
thy father.

*Constance.* There's a good grandam, boy, that would  
blot thee.

*Austria.* Peace!

*Bastard.* Hear the crier.

*Austria.* What the devil art thou?

*Bastard.* One that will play the devil, sir, with you,  
An a' may catch your hide and you alone:

You are the hare of whom the proverb goes,

Whose valour plucks dead lions by the beard;  
 I'll smoke your skin-coat an I catch you right.  
 Sirrah, look to't, i'faith I will, i'faith.

140

*Blanch.* O, well did he become that lion's robe  
 That did disrobe the lion of that robe!

*Bastard.* It lies as sightly on the back of him,  
 As great Alcides' shows upon an ass:  
 But, ass, I'll take that burden from your back,  
 Or lay on that shall make your shoulders crack.

*Austria.* What cracker is this same that deafs our ears  
 With this abundance of superfluous breath?  
 King Philip, determine what we shall do straight.

*K. Philip.* Women and fools, break off  
 your conference....

150

King John, this is the very sum of all:  
 England and Ireland, Anjou, Touraine, Maine,  
 In right of Arthur do I claim of thee:  
 Wilt thou resign them and lay down thy arms?

*K. John.* My life as soon: I do defy thee, France.  
 Arthur of Britain, yield thee to my hand,  
 And out of my dear love I'll give thee more  
 Than e'er the coward hand of France can win:  
 Submit thee, boy.

*Elinor.* Come to thy grandam, child.

*Constance.* Do, child, go to it grandam, child,  
 Give grandam kingdom, and it grandam will  
 Give it a plum, a cherry, and a fig.  
 There's a good grandam.

160

*Arthur.* Good my mother, peace!  
 I would that I were low laid in my grave,  
 I am not worth this coil that's made for me.

*Elinor.* His mother shames him so, poor boy, he weeps.

*Constance.* Now shame upon you, whe'r she does or no!  
 His grandam's wrongs, and not his mother's shames,

Draw those heaven-moving pearls from his poor eyes,  
170 Which heaven shall take in nature of a fee:

Ay, with these crystal beads heaven shall be bribed  
To do him justice and revenge on you.

*Elinor.* Thou monstrous slanderer of heaven and earth!

*Constance.* Thou monstrous injurer of heaven  
and earth!

Call not me slanderer; thou and thine usurp  
The dominations, royalties and rights  
Of this oppresséd boy: this is thy eldest son's son,  
Infortunate in nothing but in thee:

Thy sins are visited in this poor child,  
180 The canon of the law is laid on him,  
Being but the second generation  
Removéd from thy sin-conceiving womb.

*K. John.* Bedlam, have done.

*Constance.* I have but this to say,

That he's not only plagued for her sin,  
But God hath made her sin and her the plague  
On this removéd issue, plagued for her  
And with her plague, her sin; his injury  
Her injury, the beadle to her sin—  
All punished in the person of this child,  
190 And all for her—a plague upon her!

*Elinor.* Thou unadviséd scold, I can produce  
A will that bars the title of thy son.

*Constance.* Ay, who doubts that? a will! a wicked will,  
A woman's will, a cank'red grandam's will!

*K. Philip.* Peace, lady! pause, or be more temperate.  
It ill beseems this presence to cry aim  
To these ill-tunéd repetitions:

Some trumpet summon hither to the walls  
These men of Angiers—let us hear them speak  
200 Whose title they admit, Arthur's or John's.



*'Trumpet sounds. Enter a Citizen upon the walls'*

*Citizen.* Who is it that hath warned us to the walls?

*K. Philip.* 'Tis France, for England.

*K. John.* England, for itself:

You men of Angiers, and my loving subjects—

*K. Philip.* You loving men of Angiers,  
Arthur's subjects,

Our trumpet called you to this gentle parle.

*K. John.* For our advantage—therefore, hear us first:

These flags of France, that are avancéd here

Before the eye and prospect of your town,

Have hither marched to your endamage:ment:

The cannons have their bowels full of wrath,

210

And ready mounted are they to spit forth

Their iron indignation 'gainst your walls:

All preparation for a bloody siege

And merciless proceeding by these French

Confronts your city's eyes, your winking gates;

And but for our approach those sleeping stones,

That as a waist doth girdle you about,

By the compulsion of their ordinance

By this time from their fixéd beds of lime

Had been dishabited, and wide havoc made

220

For bloody power to rush upon your peace.

But on the sight of us your lawful king,

Who painfully with much expedient march

Have brought a countercheck before your gates,

To save unscratched your city's threat'ned cheeks,

Behold, the French amazed vouchsafe a parle:

And now, instead of bullets wrapped in fire,

To make a shaking fever in your walls,

They shoot but calm words folded up in smoke,

To make a faithless error in your ears:

230

Which trust accordingly, kind citizens,  
And let us in, your king, whose laboured spirits,  
Forwearied in this action of swift speed,  
Crave harbourage within your city walls.

- K. Philip.* When I have said, make answer to us both.  
Lo, in this right hand, whose protection  
Is most divinely vowed upon the right  
Of him it holds, stands young Plantagenet,  
Son to the elder brother of this man,  
240 And king o'er him and all that he enjoys:  
For this down-trodden equity, we tread  
In warlike march these greens before your town,  
Being no further enemy to you  
Than the constraint of hospitable zeal  
In the relief of this oppresséd child  
Religiously provokes. Be pleaséd then  
To pay that duty which you truly owe  
To him that owes it, namely this young prince,  
And then our arms, like to a muzzled bear,  
250 Save in aspect, hath all offence sealed up:  
Our cannons' malice vainly shall be spent  
Against th'invulnerable clouds of heaven,  
And with a blesséd and unvexed retire,  
With unhacked swords and helmets all unbruised,  
We will bear home that lusty blood again  
Which here we came to spout against your town,  
And leave your children, wives, and you in peace....  
But if you fondly pass our proffered offer,  
'Tis not the roundure of your old-faced walls  
260 Can hide you from our messengers of war,  
Though all these English and their discipline  
Were harboured in their rude circumference:  
Then tell us, shall your city call us lord,  
In that behalf which we have challenged it?

Or shall we give the signal to our rage  
And stalk in blood to our possession?

*Citizen.* In brief, we are the King of  
England's subjects:

For him, and in his right, we hold this town.

*K. John.* Acknowledge then the king, and let me in.

*Citizen.* That can we not: but he that proves the king, 270  
To him will we prove loyal. Till that time  
Have we rammed up our gates against the world.

*K. John.* Doth not the crown of England prove  
the king?

And, if not that, I bring you witnesses,  
Twice fifteen thousand hearts of England's breed—

*Bastard.* Bastards and else.

*K. John.* To verify our title with their lives.

*K. Philip.* As many and as well-born bloods as those—

*Bastard.* Some bastards too.

*K. Philip.* Stand in his face to contradict his claim. 280

*Citizen.* Till you compound whose right is worthiest,  
We for the worthiest hold the right from both.

*K. John.* Then God forgive the sin of all those souls  
That to their everlasting residence,

Before the dew of evening fall, shall fleet,

In dreadful trial of our kingdom's king!

*K. Philip.* Amen, amen! Mount, chevaliers! to arms!

*Bastard.* Saint George, that swunged the dragon, and  
e'er since

Sits on his horse back at mine hostess' door,

Teach us some fence! [*to Austria*] Sirrah, were I at home, 290

At your den, sirrah, with your lioness,

I would set an ox-head to your lion's hide,

And make a monster of you.

*Austria.*

Peace, no more.

*Bastard.* O, tremble! for you hear the lion roar.

*K. John.* Up higher to the plain, where we'll set forth  
In best appointment all our regiments.

*Bastard.* Speed then to take advantage of the field.

*K. Philip.* It shall be so, and at the other hill  
Command the rest to stand. God, and our right!

[*they go*]

*'Here, after excursions, enter the Herald of France  
with Trumpets to the gates'*

300 *French Herald.* You men of Angiers, open wide  
your gates,

And let young Arthur, Duke of Britain, in,  
Who by the hand of France this day hath made  
Much work for tears in many an English mother,  
Whose sons lie scattered on the bleeding ground:

Many a widow's husband grovelling lies,  
Coldly embracing the discoloured earth,  
And victory with little loss doth play

Upon the dancing banners of the French,  
Who are at hand, triumphantly displayed,

310 To enter conquerors, and to proclaim  
Arthur of Britain England's king and yours.

*'Enter English Herald with Trumpet'*

*English. Herald.* Rejoice, you men of Angiers, ring  
your bells,

King John, your king and England's, doth approach,  
Commander of this hot malicious day!

Their armours, that marched hence so silver-bright,  
Hither return all gilt with Frenchmen's blood:

There stuck no plume in any English crest,  
That is removed by a staff of France:

Our colours do return in those same hands

320 That did display them when we first marched forth;



And like a jolly troop of huntsmen come  
Our lusty English, all with purpled hands,  
Dyed in the dying slaughter of their foes.  
Open your gates and give the victors way.

*Citizen.* Heralds, from off our towers we  
might behold,

From first to last, the onset and retire  
Of both your armies, whose equality  
By our best eyes cannot be censuréd:  
Blood hath bought blood, and blows have  
answered blows;

Strength matched with strength, and power  
confronted power.

330

Both are alike, and both alike we like:  
One must prove greatest: while they weigh so even,  
We hold our town for neither; yet for both.

*'Enter the two KINGS with their powers' severally*

*K. John.* France, hast thou yet more blood to  
cast away?

Say, shall the current of our right run on?  
Whose passage, vexed with thy impediment,  
Shall leave his native channel, and o'erswell  
With course disturbed even thy confining shores,  
Unless thou let his silver water keep  
A peaceful progress to the ocean.

340

*K. Philip.* England, thou hast not saved one drop  
of blood

In this hot trial more than we of France,  
Rather lost more. And by this hand I swear,  
That sways the earth this climate overlooks,  
Before we will lay down our just-borne arms,  
We'll put thee down, 'gainst whom these arms we bear,  
Or add a royal number to the dead,

Gracing the scroll that tells of this war's loss  
With slaughter coupled to the name of kings.

350 *Bastard*. Ha, majesty! how high thy glory towers,  
When the rich blood of kings is set on fire!  
O, now doth death line his dead chaps with steel,  
The swords of soldiers are his teeth, his fangs,  
And now he feasts, mousing the flesh of men,  
In undetermined differences of kings....

Why stand these royal fronts amazéd thus?  
Cry 'havoc!' kings, back to the stainéd field,  
You equal potents, fiery-kindled spirits!

Then let confusion of one part confirm  
360 The other's peace; till then, blows, blood, and death!

*K. John*. Whose party do the townsmen yet admit?

*K. Philip*. Speak, citizens, for England; who's  
your king?

*Citizen*. The King of England, when we know  
the king.

*K. Philip*. Know him in us, that here hold up  
his right.

*K. John*. In us, that are our own great deputy,  
And bear possession of our person here,  
Lord of our presence, Angiers, and of you.

*Citizen*. A greater power than we denies all this,  
And till it be undoubted, we do lock

370 Our former scruple in our strong-barred gates:  
Kinged of our fears, until our fears, resolved,  
Be by some certain king purged and deposed.

*Bastard*. By heaven, these scroyles of Angiers flout  
you, kings,

And stand securely on their battlements,  
As in a theatre, whence they gape and point  
At your industrious scenes and acts of death.  
Your royal presences be ruled by me,  
Do like the mutines of Jerusalem

Be friends awhile and both conjointly bend  
Your sharpest deeds of malice on this town: 380  
By east and west let France and England mount  
Their battering cannon chargéd to the mouths,  
Till their soul-fearing clamours have brawled down  
The flinty ribs of this contemptuous city.

I'd play incessantly upon these jades,  
Even till unfencéd desolation  
Leave them as naked as the vulgar air:  
That done, dissever your united strengths,  
And part your mingled colours once again,  
Turn face to face, and bloody point to point: 390

Then in a moment Fortune shall cull forth  
Out of one side her happy minion,  
To whom in favour she shall give the day,  
And kiss him with a glorious victory...

How like you this wild counsel, mighty states?  
Smacks it not something of the policy?

*K. John.* Now, by the sky that hangs above our heads,  
I like it well. France, shall we knit our powers  
And lay this Angiers even with the ground,  
Then after fight who shall be king of it? 400

*Bastard.* An if thou hast the mettle of a king,  
Being wronged as we are by this peevish town,  
Turn thou the mouth of thy artillery,  
As we will ours, against these saucy walls,  
And when that we have dashed them to the ground,  
Why then defy each other, and pell-mell  
Make work upon ourselves, for heaven or hell.

*K. Philip.* Let it be so: say, where will you assault?

*K. John.* We from the west will send destruction  
Into this city's bosom. 410

*Austria.* I from the north.

*K. Philip.* Our thunder from the south,  
Shall rain their drift of bullets on this town.

(*Bastard*. O prudent discipline! From north to south:  
Austria and France shoot in each other's mouth.  
I'll stir them to it...[*shouts*] Come, away, away!

*Citizen*. Hear us, great kings, vouchsafe awhile to stay  
And I shall show you peace and fair-faced league:  
Win you this city without stroke or wound,  
Rescue those breathing lives to die in beds,  
420 That here come sacrifices for the field:  
Persever not, but hear me, mighty kings.

*K. John*. Speak on with favour, we are bent to hear.

*Citizen*. That daughter there of Spain, the  
Lady Blanch,  
Is niece to England. Look upon the years  
Of Lewis the Dauphin and that lovely maid:  
If lusty love should go in quest of beauty,  
Where should he find it fairer than in Blanch?  
If zealous love should go in search of virtue,  
Where should he find it purer than in Blanch?  
430 If love ambitious sought a match of birth,  
Whose veins bound richer blood than Lady Blanch?  
Such as she is, in beauty, virtue, birth,  
Is the young Dauphin every way complete:  
†If not complete of, say he is not she,  
And she again wants nothing, to name want,  
If want it be not that she is not he:  
He is the half part of a blessed man,  
Left to be finished by such a she;  
And she a fair divided excellence,  
440 Whose fulness of perfection lies in him.  
O, two such silver currents when they join  
Do glorify the banks that bound them in:  
And two such shores to two such streams made one,  
Two such controlling bounds shall you be, kings,  
To these two princes, if you marry them:



This union shall do more than battery can  
To our fast-closed gates; for at this match,  
With swifter spleen than powder can enforce,  
The mouth of passage shall we fling wide ope,  
And give you entrance; but, without this match, 450  
The sea enraged is not half so deaf,  
Lions more confident, mountains and rocks  
More free from motion, no, not Death himself  
In mortal fury half so peremptory,  
As we to keep this city.

*Bastard.* Here's a stay  
That shakes the rotten carcass of old Death  
Out of his rags! Here's a large mouth, indeed,  
That spits forth death and mountains, rocks and seas,  
Talks as familiarly of roaring lions  
As maids of thirteen do of puppy-dogs! 460  
What cannoneer begot this lusty blood?  
He speaks plain cannon fire, and smoke and bounce,  
He gives the bastinado with his tongue:  
Our ears are cudgelled—not a word of his  
But buffets better than a fist of France:  
Zounds! I was never so bethumped with words  
Since I first called my brother's father 'dad'.

(*Elinor.* Son, list to this conjunction, make this match;  
Give with our niece a dowry large enough,  
For by this knot thou shalt so surely tie 470  
Thy now unsured assurance to the crown,  
That yon green boy shall have no sun to ripe  
The bloom that promiseth a mighty fruit.  
I see a yielding in the looks of France:  
Mark how they whisper, urge them while their souls  
Are capable of this ambition,  
Lest zeal, now melted by the windy breath  
Of soft petitions, pity and remorse,

Cool and congeal again to what it was.

480 *Citizen.* Why answer not the double majesties  
This friendly treaty of our threat'ned town?

*K. Philip.* Speak England first, that hath been  
forward first

To speak unto this city: what say you?

*K. John.* If that the Dauphin there, thy princely son,  
Can in this book of beauty read 'I love',  
Her dowry shall weigh equal with a queen:  
For Anjou, and fair Touraine, Maine, Poictiers,  
And all that we upon this side the sea  
(Except this city now by us besieged)  
490 Find liable to our crown and dignity,  
Shall gild her bridal bed, and make her rich  
In titles, honours and promotions,  
As she in beauty, education, blood,  
Holds hand with any princess of the world.

*K. Philip.* What say'st thou, boy? look in the  
lady's face.

*Lewis.* I do, my lord, and in her eye I find  
A wonder, or a wondrous miracle,  
The shadow of myself formed in her eye,  
Which, being but the shadow of your son,  
500 Becomes a sun, and makes your son a shadow:  
I do protest, I never loved myself,  
Till now infixéd I beheld myself,  
Drawn in the flattering table of her eye.

[*'whispers with Blanch'*

(*Bastard.* Drawn in the flattering table of her eye!

Hanged in the frowning wrinkle of her brow!  
And quartered in her heart! he doth espy  
Himself love's traitor. This is pity now,  
That, hanged and drawn and quartered, there should be,  
In such a love so vile a lout as he.

*Blanch.* [to *Lewis*] My uncle's will in this respect 510  
is mine.

If he see aught in you that makes him like,  
That anything he sees, which moves his liking,  
I can with ease translate it to my will:  
Or if you will, to speak more properly,  
I will enforce it easily to my love.

Further I will not flatter you, my lord,  
That all I see in you is worthy love,  
Than this—that nothing do I see in you,  
Though churlish thoughts themselves should be  
your judge,

That I can find should merit any hate. 520

*K. John.* What say these young ones? What say you,  
my niece?

*Blanch.* That she is bound in honour still to do  
What you in wisdom still vouchsafe to say.

*K. John.* Speak then, Prince Dauphin, can you love  
this lady?

*Lewis.* Nay, ask me if I can refrain from love,  
For I do love her most unfeignedly.

*K. John.* Then do I give Volquessen,  
Touraine, Maine,  
Poitiers and Anjou, these five provinces,  
With her to thee, and this addition more,  
Full thirty thousand marks of English coin: 530  
Philip of France, if thou be pleased withal,  
Command thy son and daughter to join hands.

*K. Philip.* It likes us well; young princes, close  
your hands.

*Austria.* And your lips too, for I am well assured  
That I did so when I was first assured.

*K. Philip.* Now, citizens of Angiers, ope your gates,  
Let in that amity which you have made,

For at Saint Mary's chapel presently  
The rites of marriage shall be solemnized.

540 Is not the Lady Constance in this troop?

I know she is not, for this match made up  
Her presence would have interrupted much:

Where is she and her son? tell me, who knows.

*Lewis.* She is sad and passionate at your highness' tent.

*K. Philip.* And, by my faith, this league that we  
have made

Will give her sadness very little cure:

Brother of England, how may we content

This widow lady? In her right we came,

Which we, God knows, have turned another way,

550 To our own vantage.

*K. John.*

We will heal up all,

For we'll create young Arthur Duke of Britain

And Earl of Richmond, and this rich fair town

We make him lord of....Call the Lady Constance.

Some speedy messenger bid her repair

To our solemnity: I trust we shall,

If not fill up the measure of her will,

Yet in some measure satisfy her so

That we shall stop her exclamation.

Go we, as well as haste will suffer us,

560 To this unlooked for, unprepared pomp.

*[they pass through the gates, leaving the  
Bastard alone without*

*Bastard.* Mad world! mad kings! mad composition!

John, to stop Arthur's title in the whole,

Hath willingly departed with a part,

And France—whose armour conscience buckled on,

Whom zeal and charity brought to the field

As God's own soldier—rounded in the ear

With that same purpose-changer, that sly devil,



That broker that still breaks the pate of faith,  
That daily break-vow, he that wins of all,  
Of kings, of beggars, old men, young men, maids, 570  
Who, having no external thing to lose  
But the word 'maid', cheats the poor maid of that,  
That smooth-faced gentleman, tickling Commodity,  
Commodity, the bias of the world,  
The world, who of itself is peised well,  
Made to run even upon even ground,  
Till this advantage, this vile-drawing bias,  
This sway of motion, this Commodity,  
Makes it take head from all indifferency, 580  
From all direction, purpose, course, intent:  
And this same bias, this Commodity,  
This bawd, this broker, this all-changing word,  
Clapped on the outward eye of fickle France,  
Hath drawn him from his own determined aid,  
From a resolved and honourable war,  
To a most base and vile-concluded peace....  
And why rail I on this Commodity?  
But for because he hath not wooed me yet:  
Not that I have the power to clutch my hand,  
When his fair angels would salute my palm, 590  
But for my hand, as unattempted yet,  
Like a poor beggar, raileth on the rich:  
Well, whiles I am a beggar, I will rail,  
And say there is no sin but to be rich;  
And being rich, my virtue then shall be  
To say there is no vice but beggary:  
Since kings break faith upon commodity,  
Gain, be my lord, for I will worship thee. [*he goes in*

[3. 1.]      *Without the French KING's tent;  
                 a grassy knoll near-by*

*'Enter CONSTANCE, ARTHUR, and SALISBURY'*

*Constance.* Gone to be married! gone to swear a peace!  
False blood to false blood joined! gone to be friends!  
Shall Lewis have Blanch, and Blanch those provinces?  
It is not so, thou hast misspoke, misheard,  
Be well advised, tell o'er thy tale again.  
It cannot be, thou dost but say 'tis so.  
I trust I may not trust thee, for thy word  
Is but the vain breath of a common man:  
Believe me, I do not believe thee, man,  
10 I have a king's oath to the contrary.  
Thou shalt be punished for thus frightening me,  
For I am sick and capable of fears,  
Oppressed with wrongs, and therefore full of fears,  
A widow, husbandless, subject to fears,  
A woman naturally born to fears;  
And though thou now confess thou didst but jest,  
With my vexed spirits I cannot take a truce,  
But they will quake and tremble all this day....  
What dost thou mean by shaking of thy head?  
20 Why dost thou look so sadly on my son?  
What means that hand upon that breast of thine?  
Why holds thine eye that lamentable rheum,  
Like a proud river peering o'er his bounds?  
Be these sad signs confirmers of thy words?  
Then speak again, not all thy former tale,  
But this one word, whether thy tale be true.  
*Salisbury.* As true as I believe you think them false  
That give you cause to prove my saying true.

*Constance.* O, if thou teach me to believe this sorrow,  
Teach thou this sorrow how to make me die, 30  
And let belief and life encounter so  
As doth the fury of two desperate men  
Which in the very meeting fall and die....

Lewis marry Blanch! O boy, then where art thou?  
France friend with England, what becomes of me?  
Fellow, be gone: I cannot brook thy sight—  
This news hath made thee a most ugly man.

*Salisbury.* What other harm have I, good lady, done,  
But spoke the harm that is by others done?

*Constance.* Which harm within itself so heinous is 40  
As it makes harmful all that speak of it.

*Arthur.* I do beseech you, madam, be content.

*Constance.* If thou, that bid'st me be content, wert grim,  
Ugly and sland'rous to thy mother's womb,  
Full of unpleasing blots and sightless stains,  
Lame, foolish, crooked, swart, prodigious,  
Patched with foul moles and eye-offending marks,  
I would not care, I then would be content,  
For then I should not love thee; no, nor thou  
Become thy great birth nor deserve a crown. 50  
But thou art fair, and at thy birth, dear boy,  
Nature and Fortune joined to make thee great.  
Of Nature's gifts thou mayst with lilies boast  
And with the half-blown rose. But Fortune, O,  
She is corrupted, changed and won from thee;  
Sh'adulterates hourly with thine uncle John,  
And with her golden hand hath plucked on France  
To tread down fair respect of sovereignty,  
And made his majesty the bawd to theirs.  
France is a bawd to Fortune and King John, 60  
That strumpet Fortune, that usurping John:  
Tell me, thou fellow, is not France forsworn?

Envenom him with words, or get thee gone,  
And leave those woes alone which I alone  
Am bound to under-bear.

*Salisbury.* Pardon me, madam,  
I may not go without you to the kings.

*Constance.* Thou mayst, thou shalt, I will not go  
with thee.

*[she turns from him and ascends the knoll]*

I will instruct my sorrows to be proud,  
For grief is proud and makes his owner stoop.  
70 To me and to the state of my great grief  
Let kings assemble; for my grief's so great  
That no supporter but the huge firm earth  
Can hold it up: here I and sorrows sit,  
Here is my throne, bid kings come bow to it.

*[she seats herself on the knoll]*

*Enter KING JOHN, KING PHILIP, LEWIS, BLANCH,  
ELINOR, the BASTARD, AUSTRIA, and attendants*

*K. Philip.* 'Tis true, fair daughter, and this blessed day  
Ever in France shall be kept festival:  
To solemnize this day, the glorious sun  
Stays in his course and plays the alchemist,  
Turning with splendour of his precious eye  
80 The meagre cloddy earth to glittering gold:  
The yearly course that brings this day about  
Shall never see it but a holiday.

*Constance.* *[from above]* A wicked day, and not a  
holy day!

What hath this day deserved? what hath it done,  
That it in golden letters should be set  
Among the high tides in the calendar?  
Nay, rather turn this day out of the week,  
This day of shame, oppression, perjury.  
Or, if it must stand still, let wives with child



Pray that their burdens may not fall this day,  
Lest that their hopes prodigiously be crossed:  
But on this day let seamen fear no wrack,  
No bargains break that are not this day made:  
This day, all things begun come to ill end;  
Yea, faith itself to hollow falsehood change!

*K. Philip.* By heaven, lady, you shall have no cause  
To curse the fair proceedings of this day:  
Have I not pawned to you my majesty?

*Constance.* You have beguiled me with a counterfeit  
Resembling majesty, which being touched and tried 100  
Proves valueless: you are forsworn, forsworn!  
You came in arms to spill mine enemies' blood,  
But now in arms you strengthen it with yours.  
The grappling vigour and rough frown of war  
Is cold in amity and painted peace,  
And our oppression hath made up this league...  
Arm, arm, you heavens, against these perjured kings!  
A widow cries; be husband to me, heavens!  
Let not the hours of this ungodly day  
Wear out the day in peace; but, ere sunset, 110  
Set armed discord 'twixt these perjured kings!  
Hear me, O, hear me!

*Austria.* Lady Constance, peace.

*Constance.* War! war! no peace! peace is to me a war:  
O Lymoges! O Austria! thou dost shame  
That bloody spoil: thou slave, thou wretch, thou coward,  
Thou little valiant, great in villany!  
Thou ever strong upon the stronger side!  
Thou Fortune's champion, that dost never fight  
But when her humorous ladyship is by  
To teach thee safety! thou art perjured too, 120  
And sooth'st up greatness. What a fool art thou,  
A ramping fool, to brag and stamp and swear  
Upon my party! Thou cold-blooded slave,

Hast thou not spoke like thunder on my side,  
Been sworn my soldier, bidding me depend  
Upon thy stars, thy fortune and thy strength,  
And dost thou now fall over to my foes?

Thou wear a lion's hide! doff it for shame,  
And hang a calf's-skin on those recreant limbs.

130 *Austria.* O, that a man should speak those words to me!

*Bastard.* And hang a calf's-skin on those recreant limbs.

*Austria.* Thou dar'st not say so, villain, for thy life.

*Bastard.* And hang a calf's-skin on those recreant limbs.

*K. John.* We like not this, thou dost forget thyself.

*'Enter PANDULPH'*

*K. Philip.* Here comes the holy legate of the Pope.

*Pandulph.* Hail, you anointed deputies of heaven!

To thee, King John, my holy errand is:

I Pandulph, of fair Milan cardinal,

And from Pope Innocent the legate here,

140 Do in his name religiously demand

Why thou against the church, our holy mother,

So wilfully dost spurn; and force perforce

Keep Stephen Langton, chosen archbishop

Of Canterbury, from that holy see:

This, in our foresaid holy father's name,

Pope Innocent, I do demand of thee.

*K. John.* What earthly name to interrogatories  
Can task the free breath of a sacred king?

Thou canst not, cardinal, devise a name

150 So slight, unworthy and ridiculous,

To charge me to an answer, as the Pope:

Tell him this tale, and from the mouth of England

Add thus much more, that no Italian priest

Shall tithe or toll in our dominions;

But as we, under heaven, are supreme head,

So under Him that great supremacy,  
Where we do reign, we will alone uphold,  
Without th' assistance of a mortal hand:  
So tell the Pope, all reverence set apart  
To him and his usurped authority.

160

*K. Philip.* Brother of England, you blaspheme in this.

*K. John.* Though you and all the kings of  
Christendom

Are led so grossly by this meddling priest,  
Dreading the curse that money may buy out,  
And by the merit of vile gold, dross, dust,  
Purchase corrupted pardon of a man,  
Who in that sale sells pardon from himself;  
Though you and all the rest so grossly led  
This juggling witchcraft with revenue cherish,  
Yet I alone, alone do me oppose  
Against the Pope and count his friends my foes.

170

*Pandulph.* Then, by the lawful power that I have,  
Thou shalt stand cursed and excommunicate,  
And blessed shall he be that doth revolt  
From his allegiance to an heretic,  
And meritorious shall that hand be called,  
Canónized and worshipped as a saint,  
That takes away by any secret course  
Thy hateful life.

*Constance.* O, lawful let it be  
That I have room with Rome to curse awhile!  
Good father cardinal, cry thou amen  
To my keen curses; for without my wrong  
There is no tongue hath power to curse him right.

180

*Pandulph.* There's law and warrant, lady, for my curse.

*Constance.* And for mine too. When law can do no right,  
Let it be lawful that law bar no wrong:  
Law cannot give my child his kingdom here;

For he that holds his kingdom holds the law:  
Therefore, since law itself is perfect wrong,  
190 How can the law forbid my tongue to curse?

*Pandulph.* Philip of France, on peril of a curse,  
Let go the hand of that arch-heretic,  
And raise the power of France upon his head,  
Unless he do submit himself to Rome.

*Elinor.* Look'st thou pale, France? do not let go  
thy hand.

*Constance.* Look to that, devil, lest that France repent,  
And by disjoining hands, hell lose a soul.

*Austria.* King Philip, listen to the cardinal.

*Bastard.* And hang a calf's-skin on his recreant limbs.

200 *Austria.* Well, ruffian, I must pocket up these wrongs,  
Because—

*Bastard.* Your breeches best may carry them.

*K. John.* Philip, what say'st thou to the cardinal?

*Constance.* What should he say, but as the cardinal?

*Lewis.* Bethink you, father, for the difference  
Is purchase of a heavy curse from Rome,  
Or the light loss of England for a friend:  
Forgo the easier.

*Blanch.* That's the curse of Rome.

*Constance.* O Lewis, stand fast, the devil tempts thee here  
In likeness of a new untrimméd bride.

210 *Blanch.* The Lady Constance speaks not from her faith,  
But from her need.

*Constance.* O, if thou grant my need,  
Which only lives but by the death of faith,  
That need must needs infer this principle,  
That faith would live again by death of need:  
O then, tread down my need, and faith mounts up,  
Keep my need up, and faith is trodden down.

*K. John.* The king is moved, and answers not to this.

*Constance.* O, be removed from him, and answer well.



*Austria.* Do so, King Philip, hang no more in doubt.

*Bastard.* Hang nothing but a calf's-skin, most sweet lout. 220

*K. Philip.* I am perplexed, and know not what to say.

*Pandulph.* What canst thou say but will perplex  
thee more,

If thou stand excommunicate and cursed?

*K. Philip.* Good reverend father, make my  
person yours,

And tell me how you would bestow yourself.

This royal hand and mine are newly knit,

And the conjunction of our inward souls

Married in league, coupled and linked together

With all religious strength of sacred vows:

The latest breath that gave the sound of words

230

Was deep-sworn faith, peace, amity, true love

Between our kingdoms and our royal selves,

And even before this truce, but new before,

No longer than we well could wash our hands

To clap this royal bargain up of peace,

Heaven knows, they were besmeared and overstained

With slaughter's pencil, where revenge did paint

The fearful difference of incenséd kings:

And shall these hands, so lately purged of blood,

So newly joined in love, so strong in both,

240

Unyoke this seizure and this kind regret?

Play fast and loose with faith? so jest with heaven,

Make such unconstant children of ourselves,

As now again to snatch our palm from palm,

Unswear faith sworn, and on the marriage-bed

Of smiling peace to march a bloody host,

And make a riot on the gentle brow

Of true sincerity? O holy sir,

My reverend father, let it not be so:

Out of your grace, devise, ordain, impose

250

Some gentle order, and then we shall be blest

To do your pleasure and continue friends.

*Pandulph.* All form is formless, order orderless,  
Save what is opposite to England's love.

Therefore, to arms! be champion of our church,  
Or let the church, our mother, breathe her curse,  
A mother's curse, on her revolting son:

France, thou mayst hold a serpent by the tongue,  
A chaféd lion by the mortal paw,

260 A fasting tiger safer by the tooth,

Than keep in peace that hand which thou dost hold.

*K. Philip.* I may disjoin my hand, but not my faith.

*Pandulph.* So mak'st thou faith an enemy to faith,  
And like a civil war set'st oath to oath,

Thy tongue against thy tongue. O, let thy vow  
First made to heaven, first be to heaven performed,  
That is, to be the champion of our church.

What since thou swor'st is sworn against thyself  
And may not be performéd by thyself,

270 For that which thou hast sworn to do amiss

Is not amiss when it is truly done;

And being not done, where doing tends to ill,  
The truth is then most done not doing it:

The better act of purposes mistook

Is to mistake again; though indirect,

Yet indirection thereby grows direct,

And falsehood falsehood cures, as fire cools fire

Within the scorched veins of one new-burned:

It is religion that doth make vows kept,

280 But thou hast sworn against religion,

By what thou swear'st against the thing thou swear'st,

And mak'st an oath the surety for thy truth

Against an oath: the truth thou art unsure

To swear, swears only not to be forsworn;

Else what a mockery should it be to swear!

But thou dost swear only to be forsworn,  
And most forsworn to keep what thou dost swear.  
Therefore thy later vows against thy first  
Is in thyself rebellion to thyself:

And better conquest never canst thou make 290  
Than arm thy constant and thy nobler parts  
Against these giddy loose suggestions:  
Upon which better part our prayers come in,  
If thou vouchsafe them: but if not, then know  
The peril of our curses light on thee  
So heavy as thou shalt not shake them off,  
But in despair die under their black weight.

*Austria.* Rebellion, flat rebellion!

*Bastard.* Will't not be?

Will not a calf's-skin stop that mouth of thine?

*Lewis.* Father, to arms!

*Blanch.* Upon thy wedding-day? 300

Against the blood that thou hast married?

What, shall our feast be kept with slaughtered men?

Shall braying trumpets and loud churlish drums,

Clamours of hell, be measures to our pomp?

O husband, hear me! ay, alack, how new

Is husband in my mouth! even for that name,

Which till this time my tongue did ne'er pronounce,

Upon my knee I beg, go not to arms

Against mine uncle.

*Constance.* [*descends and kneels*] O, upon my knee,  
Made hard with kneeling, I do pray to thee, 310  
Thou virtuous Dauphin, alter not the doom  
Forethought by heaven.

*Blanch.* Now shall I see thy love. What motive may  
Be stronger with thee than the name of wife?

*Constance.* That which upholdeth him that  
thee upholds,

His honour. O, thine honour, Lewis, thine honour!

*Lewis.* I muse your majesty doth seem so cold,  
When such profound respects do pull you on.

*Pandulph.* I will denounce a curse upon his head.

320 *K. Philip.* Thou shalt not need. England, I will fall  
from thee.

*Constance.* O fair return of banished majesty!

*Elinor.* O foul revolt of French inconstancy!

*K. John.* France, thou shalt rue this hour within  
this hour.

*Bastard.* Old Time the clock-setter, that bald  
sexton Time,

Is it as he will? well then, France shall rue.

*Blanch.* The sun's o'ercast with blood: fair day, adieu!  
Which is the side that I must go withal?

I am with both. Each army hath a hand,  
And in their rage, I having hold of both,

330 They whirl asunder and dismember me.

Husband, I cannot pray that thou mayst win;  
Uncle, I needs must pray that thou mayst lose;  
Father, I may not wish the fortune thine;  
Grandam, I will not wish thy wishes thrive:  
Whoever wins, on that side shall I lose;  
Assured loss before the match be played.

*Lewis.* Lady, with me, with me thy fortune lies.

*Blanch.* There where my fortune lives, there my  
life dies.

*K. John.* Cousin, go draw our puissance together.

[*the Bastard hurries forth*]

340 France, I am burned up with inflaming wrath,  
A rage whose heat hath this condition,  
That nothing can allay, nothing but blood,  
The blood, and dearest-valued blood, of France.

*K. Philip.* Thy rage shall burn thee up, and thou  
shalt turn



To ashes, ere our blood shall quench that fire:  
Look to thyself, thou art in jeopardy.

*K. John.* No more than he that threats. To arms  
let's hie! [*they go*]

[3. 2.]

*Before Angiers*

*The battle begins. 'Alarums, excursions:  
enter the BASTARD, with AUSTRIA's head'*

*Bastard.* Now, by my life, this day grows  
wondrous hot,  
Some airy devil hovers in the sky,  
And pours down mischief. Austria's head lie there,  
While Philip breathes.

*'Enter KING JOHN, ARTHUR, and HUBERT'*

*K. John.* Hubert, keep this boy...Philip, make up.  
My mother is assailed in our tent,  
And ta'en, I fear.

*Bastard.* My lord, I rescued her,  
Her highness is in safety, fear you not:  
But on, my liege, for very little pains  
Will bring this labour to an happy end. [*they go* 10]

[3. 3.] *After further alarums and excursions a retreat is  
sounded, and KING JOHN enters in triumph with ELINOR,  
ARTHUR, the BASTARD, HUBERT, and Lords*

*K. John [to Elinor].* So shall it be; your grace shall  
stay behind,  
†More strongly guarded...[*to Arthur*] Cousin, look  
not sad.  
Thy grandam loves thee, and thy uncle will  
As dear be to thee as thy father was.

*Arthur.* O, this will make my mother die with grief.

*K. John* [*to the Bastard*]. Cousin, away for England!  
haste before,

And ere our coming see thou shake the bags  
Of hoarding abbots; imprisoned angels  
Set at liberty: the fat ribs of peace  
10 Must by the hungry now be fed upon:  
Use our commission in his utmost force.

*Bastard.* Bell, book, and candle shall not drive  
me back,

When gold and silver becks me to come on.  
I leave your highness: Grandam, I will pray  
(If ever I remember to be holy)  
For your fair safety; so I kiss your hand.

*Elinor.* Farewell, gentle cousin.

*K. John.* Coz, farewell. [*the Bastard goes*]

*Elinor.* Come hither, little kinsman; hark, a word.

*K. John.* Come hither, Hubert. O my gentle Hubert,  
20 We owe thee much; within this wall of flesh  
There is a soul counts thee her creditor,  
And with advantage means to pay thy love:  
And, my good friend, thy voluntary oath  
Lives in this bosom, dearly cherishéd....  
Give me thy hand. I had a thing to say,  
But I will fit it with some better time....  
By heaven, Hubert, I am almost ashamed  
To say what good respect I have of thee.

*Hubert.* I am much bounden to your majesty.

30 *K. John.* Good friend, thou hast no cause to say  
so yet,

But thou shalt have; and creep time ne'er so slow,  
Yet it shall come for me to do thee good....

I had a thing to say, but let it go:

The sun is in the heaven, and the proud day,

Attended with the pleasures of the world,  
Is all too wanton and too full of gawds  
To give me audience: if the midnight bell  
Did, with his iron tongue and brazen mouth,  
Sound on into the drowsy ear of night;  
If this same were a churchyard where we stand, 40  
And thou possesséd with a thousand wrongs;  
Or if that surly spirit, melancholy,  
Had baked thy blood and made it heavy-thick,  
Which else runs tickling up and down the veins,  
Making that idiot, laughter, keep men's eyes  
And strain their cheeks to idle merriment,  
A passion hateful to my purposes;  
Or if that thou couldst see me without eyes,  
Hear me without thine ears, and make reply  
Without a tongue, using conceit alone, 50  
Without eyes, ears and harmful sound of words;  
†Then, in despite of broad-eyed watchful day,  
I would into thy bosom pour my thoughts:  
But, ah, I will not! yet I love thee well,  
And, by my troth, I think, thou lov'st me well.

*Hubert.* So well, that what you bid me undertake,  
Though that my death were adjunct to my act,  
By heaven, I would do it.

*K. John.* Do not I know thou wouldst?  
Good Hubert, Hubert, Hubert, throw thine eye  
On yon young boy: I'll tell thee what, my friend, 60  
He is a very serpent in my way,  
And wheresoe'er this foot of mine doth tread,  
He lies before me: dost thou understand me?  
Thou art his keeper.

*Hubert.* And I'll keep him so,  
That he shall not offend your majesty.

*K. John.* Death.

*Hubert.* My lord?

*K. John.* A grave.

*Hubert.* He shall not live.

*K. John.* Enough....

I could be merry now. Hubert, I love thee.

Well, I'll not say what I intend for thee:

Remember...Madam, fare you well,

70 I'll send those powers o'er to your majesty.

*Elinor.* My blessing go with thee!

*K. John.* For England, cousin, go.

Hubert shall be your man, attend on you

With all true duty...On toward Calais, ho! [*they go*]

[3. 4.] *Before the French King's tent*

*KING PHILIP, LEWIS, PANDULPH, and attendants*

*K. Philip.* So, by a roaring tempest on the flood,  
A whole armado of convicted sail  
Is scattered and disjoined from fellowship.

*Pandulph.* Courage and comfort! all shall yet go well.

*K. Philip.* What can go well, when we have run so ill?  
Are we not beaten? Is not Angiers lost?

Arthur ta'en prisoner? divers dear friends slain?

And bloody England into England gone,  
O'erbearing interruption, spite of France?

10 *Lewis.* What he hath won, that hath he fortified:

So hot a speed with such advice disposed,

Such temperate order in so fierce a cause,

Doth want example: who hath read or heard

Of any kindred action like to this?

*K. Philip.* Well could I bear that England had  
this praise,

So we could find some pattern of our shame.



*CONSTANCE enters, her hair loose about her shoulders*

Look, who comes here! a grave unto a soul,  
Holding th'eternal spirit, against her will,  
In the vile prison of afflicted breath...

I prithee, lady, go away with me.

20

*Constance.* Lo, now! now see the issue of your peace!

*K. Philip.* Patience, good lady! comfort, gentle  
Constance!

*Constance.* No, I defy all counsel, all redress,  
But that which ends all counsel, true redress...  
Death, death. O amiable lovely death!  
Thou odoriferous stench! sound rottenness!  
Arise forth from the couch of lasting night,  
Thou hate and terror to prosperity,  
And I will kiss thy detestable bones,  
And put my eyeballs in thy vaulty brows,  
And ring these fingers with thy household worms,  
And stop this gap of breath with fulsome dust,  
And be a carrion monster like thyself;  
Come, grin on me, and I will think thou smil'st,  
And buss thee as thy wife! Misery's love,  
O, come to me!

30

*K. Philip.* O fair affliction, peace.

*Constance.* No, no, I will not, having breath to cry:  
O, that my tongue were in the thunder's mouth!  
Then with a passion would I shake the world,  
And rouse from sleep that fell anatomy,  
Which cannot hear a lady's feeble voice,  
Which scorns a modern invocation.

40

*Pandulph.* Lady, you utter madness, and not sorrow.

*Constance.* Thou art not holy to belie me so.  
I am not mad: this hair I tear is mine,  
My name is Constance, I was Geffrey's wife,

Young Arthur is my son, and he is lost:  
I am not mad, I would to heaven I were,  
For then 'tis like I should forget myself:  
50 O, if I could, what grief should I forget!  
Preach some philosophy to make me mad,  
And thou shalt be canonized, cardinal;  
For, being not mad but sensible of grief,  
My reasonable part produces reason  
How I may be delivered of these woes,  
And teaches me to kill or hang myself:  
If I were mad, I should forget my son,  
Or madly think a babe of clouts were he:  
I am not mad; too well, too well I feel  
60 The different plague of each calamity.

*K. Philip.* Bind up those tresses...O, what love I note  
In the fair multitude of those her hairs!  
Where but by chance a silver drop hath fallen,  
Even to that drop ten thousand wiry friends  
Do glue themselves in sociable grief,  
Like true, inseparable, faithful loves,  
Sticking together in calamity.

*Constance.* To England, if you will.

*K. Philip.* Bind up your hairs.

*Constance.* Yes, that I will; and wherefore will I do it?  
70 I tore them from their bonds and cried aloud,  
'O that these hands could so redeem my son,  
As they have given these hairs their liberty!'  
But now I envy at their liberty,  
And will again commit them to their bonds,  
Because my poor child is a prisoner....

*[she knits up her hair]*

And, father cardinal, I have heard you say  
That we shall see and know our friends in heaven:  
If that be true, I shall see my boy again;

For, since the birth of Cain, the first male child,  
 To him that did but yesterday suspire,  
 There was not such a gracious creature born:  
 But now will canker-sorrow eat my bud  
 And chase the native beauty from his cheek,  
 And he will look as hollow as a ghost,  
 As dim and meagre as an ague's fit,  
 And so he'll die; and, rising so again,  
 When I shall meet him in the court of heaven  
 I shall not know him: therefore never, never  
 Must I behold my pretty Arthur more.

80

*Pandulph.* You hold too heinous a respect of grief. 90

*Constance.* He talks to me that never had a son.

*K. Philip.* You are as fond of grief as of your child.

*Constance.* Grief fills the room up of my absent child:  
 Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me,  
 Puts on his pretty looks, repeats his words,  
 Remembers me of all his gracious parts,  
 Stuffs out his vacant garments with his form;  
 Then have I reason to be fond of grief!  
 Fare you well: had you such a loss as I,  
 I could give better comfort than you do.  
 I will not keep this form upon my head,  
 When there is such disorder in my wit...

100

*[she tears her hair again]*

O Lord! my boy, my Arthur, my fair son!  
 My life, my joy, my food, my all the world!  
 My widow-comfort, and my sorrows' cure!

*[she runs forth]*

*K. Philip.* I fear some outrage, and I'll follow her.

*[he goes]*

*Lewis.* There's nothing in this world can make me joy:  
 Life is as tedious as a twice-told tale  
 Vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man;

110 And bitter shame hath spoiled the sweet world's taste,  
That it yields nought but shame and bitterness.

*Pandulph.* Before the curing of a strong disease,  
Even in the instant of repair and health,  
The fit is strongest; evils that take leave,  
On their departure most of all show evil:  
What have you lost by losing of this day?

*Lewis.* All days of glory, joy and happiness.

*Pandulph.* If you had won it, certainly you had.  
No, no: when Fortune means to men most good,  
120 She looks upon them with a threat'ning eye:  
'Tis strange to think how much King John hath lost  
In this which he accounts so clearly won:

Are not you grieved that Arthur is his prisoner?

*Lewis.* As heartily as he is glad he hath him.

*Pandulph.* Your mind is all as youthful as your blood.  
Now hear me speak with a prophetic spirit;  
For even the breath of what I mean to speak  
Shall blow each dust, each straw, each little rub,  
Out of the path which shall directly lead  
130 Thy foot to England's throne: and therefore mark.  
John hath seized Arthur, and it cannot be  
That, whiles warm life plays in that infant's veins,  
The misplaced John should entertain an hour,  
One minute, nay, one quiet breath of rest.  
A sceptre snatched with an unruly hand  
Must be as boisterously maintained as gained;  
And he that stands upon a slippery place  
Makes nice of no vile hold to stay him up:  
That John may stand, then Arthur needs must fall,  
140 So be it, for it cannot be but so.

*Lewis.* But what shall I gain by young Arthur's fall?

*Pandulph.* You, in the right of Lady Blanch your wife,  
May then make all the claim that Arthur did.

*Lewis.* And lose it, life and all, as Arthur did.



*Pandulph.* How green you are, and fresh in this  
old world!

John lays you plots; the times conspire with you;  
For he that steeps his safety in true blood  
Shall find but bloody safety and untrue.

This act so evilly borne shall cool the hearts  
Of all his people and freeze up their zeal,  
That none so small advantage shall step forth  
To check his reign, but they will cherish it;  
No natural exhalation in the sky,  
No scope of nature, no distempered day,  
No common wind, no customéd event,  
But they will pluck away his natural cause,  
And call them meteors, prodigies and signs,  
Abortives, presages and tongues of heaven,  
Plainly denouncing vengeance upon John.

150

*Lewis.* May be he will not touch young  
Arthur's life,

160

But hold himself safe in his prisonment.

*Pandulph.* O, sir, when he shall hear of  
your approach,

If that young Arthur be not gone already,  
Even at that news he dies; and then the hearts  
Of all his people shall revolt from him,  
And kiss the lips of unacquainted change,  
And pick strong matter of revolt and wrath  
Out of the bloody fingers' ends of John....

Methinks I see this hurly all on foot;  
And, O, what better matter breeds for you  
Than I have named! The bastard Faulconbridge  
Is now in England, ransacking the church,  
Offending charity: if but a dozen French  
Were there in arms, they would be as a call  
To train ten thousand English to their side;  
Or as a little snow, tumbled about,

170

Anon becomes a mountain....O noble Dauphin,  
 Go with me to the king. 'Tis wonderful  
 What may be wrought out of their discontent,  
 180 Now that their souls are topfull of offence.  
 For England go! I will whet on the king.

*Lewis.* Strong reasons make strong actions: let us go.  
 If you say ay, the king will not say no. [they go]

[4.1.] *England. A room in a castle with an arras upon the  
 back wall; coals burning in a brazier; a table and chair*

*'Enter HUBERT and Executioners' bearing searing irons*

*Hubert.* Heat me these irons hot, and look thou stand  
 Within the arras: when I strike my foot  
 Upon the bosom of the ground, rush forth,  
 And bind the boy which you shall find with me  
 Fast to the chair: be heedful: hence, and watch.

1 *Executioner.* I hope your warrant will bear out  
 the deed.

*Hubert.* Uncleanly scruples! fear not you: look to't....

[the Executioners stand behind the arras;

*Hubert goes to the door and calls*

Young lad, come forth; I have to say with you.

*ARTHUR enters*

*Arthur.* Good morrow, Hubert.

*Hubert.* Good morrow, little prince.

10 *Arthur.* As little prince, having so great a title  
 To be more prince, as may be...You are sad.

*Hubert.* Indeed, I have been merrier.

*Arthur.* Mercy on me!

Methinks no body should be sad but I:  
 Yet I remember, when I was in France,  
 Young gentlemen would be as sad as night,

Only for wantonness: by my christendom,  
So I were out of prison and kept sheep,  
I should be as merry as the day is long;  
And so I would be here, but that I doubt  
My uncle practises more harm to me:  
He is afraid of me and I of him:

20

Is it my fault that I was Geffrey's son?  
No, indeed is't not; and I would to heaven  
I were your son, so you would love me, Hubert.

(*Hubert.* If I talk to him, with his innocent prate  
He will awake my mercy which lies dead:  
Therefore I will be sudden and dispatch.

(*Arthur.* Are you sick, Hubert? you look pale to-day.  
In sooth, I would you were a little sick,  
That I might sit all night and watch with you.  
I warrant I love you more than you do me.

30

(*Hubert.* His words do take possession of my bosom....  
[*he shows a paper*] Read here, young Arthur....

[*aside*] How now, foolish rheum!  
Turning despiteous torture out of door!  
I must be brief, lest resolution drop  
Out at mine eyes in tender womanish tears....  
Can you not read it? is it not fair writ?

(*Arthur.* Too fairly, Hubert, for so foul effect.  
Must you, with hot irons, burn out both mine eyes?

(*Hubert.* Young boy, I must.

(*Arthur.* And will you?

(*Hubert.* And I will. 40

(*Arthur.* Have you the heart? When your head did  
but ache,

I knit my handkercher about your brows,  
(The best I had, a princess wrought it me)  
And I did never ask it you again:  
And with my hand at midnight held your head;

And like the watchful minutes to the hour,  
Still and anon cheered up the heavy time;  
Saying, 'What lack you?' and 'Where lies your grief?'  
Or 'What good love may I perform for you?'  
50 Many a poor man's son would have lien still,  
And ne'er have spoke a loving word to you;  
But you at your sick service had a prince:  
Nay, you may think my love was crafty love,  
And call it cunning: do, an if you will:  
If heaven be pleased that you must use me ill,  
Why then you must....Will you put out mine eyes?  
These eyes that never did nor never shall  
So much as frown on you?

*Hubert.* I have sworn to do it;

And with hot irons must I burn them out.

60 *Arthur.* Ah, none but in this iron age would do it!  
The iron of itself, though heat red-hot,  
Approaching near these eyes, would drink my tears,  
And quench his fiery indignation,  
Even in the matter of mine innocence:  
Nay, after that, consume away in rust,  
But for containing fire to harm mine eye:  
Are you more stubborn-hard than hammered iron?  
An if an angel should have come to me,  
And told me Hubert should put out mine eyes,  
70 I would not have believed him...no tongue but  
Hubert's!

*Hubert.* [*stamps on the ground*] Come forth.

*The Executioners come forth with cord, irons, &c.*

Do as I bid you do.

*Arthur.* O, save me, Hubert, save me! my eyes are out,  
Even with the fierce looks of these bloody men.

*Hubert.* Give me the iron, I say, and bind him here.  
[*they sieze him*]



*Arthur.* Alas, what need you be so boist'rous-rough?  
I will not struggle, I will stand stone-still:  
For heaven sake, Hubert, let me not be bound!  
Nay, hear me, Hubert, drive these men away,  
And I will sit as quiet as a lamb; 80  
I will not stir, not wince, nor speak a word,  
Nor look upon the iron angrily:  
Thrust but these men away, and I'll forgive you,  
Whatever torment you do put to me.

*Hubert.* Go, stand within: let me alone with him.

*Executioner.* I am best pleased to be from such  
a deed. *[the Executioners go out, leaving an  
iron upon the table]*

*Arthur.* Alas! I then have chid away my friend!  
He hath a stern look, but a gentle heart:  
Let him come back, that his compassion may  
Give life to yours.

*Hubert.* Come, boy, prepare yourself. 90

*Arthur.* Is there no remedy?

*Hubert.* None, but to lose your eyes.

*Arthur.* O heaven! that there were but a mote in  
yours,

A grain, a dust, a gnat, a wandering hair,  
Any annoyance in that precious sense!  
Then, feeling what small things are boisterous there,  
Your vile intent must needs seem horrible.

*Hubert.* Is this your promise? go to, hold your  
tongue.

*Arthur.* Hubert, the utterance of a brace of tongues  
Must needs want pleading for a pair of eyes:  
Let me not hold my tongue; let me not, Hubert! 100  
Or, Hubert, if you will, cut out my tongue,  
So I may keep mine eyes....O, spare mine eyes,  
Though to no use, but still to look on you!

*[he snatches up the iron]*

Lo, by my troth, the instrument is cold,  
And would not harm me.

*Hubert.* I can heat it, boy.

*Arthur.* No, in good sooth; the fire is dead with grief,  
Being create for comfort, to be used  
In undeserved extremes: see else yourself,  
There is no malice in this burning coal,  
110 The breath of heaven hath blown his spirit out,  
And strewed repentant ashes on his head.

*Hubert.* But with my breath I can revive it, boy.

*Arthur.* An if you do, you will but make it blush,  
And glow with shame of your proceedings, Hubert:  
Nay, it perchance will sparkle in your eyes;  
And like a dog that is compelled to fight,  
Snatch at his master that doth tarre him on.  
All things that you should use to do me wrong  
Deny their office: only you do lack  
120 That mercy which fierce fire and iron extend,  
Creatures of note for mercy-lacking uses.

*Hubert.* Well, see to live; I will not touch thine eyes  
For all the treasure that thine uncle owes.  
Yet am I sworn, and I did purpose, boy,  
With this same very iron to burn them out.

*Arthur.* O, now you look like Hubert! all this while  
You were disguiséd.

*Hubert.* Peace: no more. Adieu.  
Your uncle must not know but you are dead.  
I'll fill these doggéd spies with false reports:  
130 And, pretty child, sleep doubtless and secure,  
That Hubert, for the wealth of all the world,  
Will not offend thee.

*Arthur.* O heaven! I thank you, Hubert.

*Hubert.* Silence, no more: go closely in with me.  
Much danger do I undergo for thee. [they go

[4. 2.]

*King John's palace*

*KING JOHN* crowned and enthroned in full state, with  
*PEMBROKE, SALISBURY* and other lords about him

*K. John.* Here once again we sit; once again crowned,  
And looked upon, I hope, with cheerful eyes.

*Pembroke.* This 'once again' (but that your  
highness pleased)

Was once superfluous: you were crowned before,  
And that high royalty was ne'er plucked off;  
The faiths of men ne'er stained with revolt;  
Fresh expectation troubled not the land,  
With any longed-for change or better state.

*Salisbury.* Therefore, to be possessed with  
double pomp,

To guard a title that was rich before, 10  
To gild refined gold, to paint the lily,  
To throw a perfume on the violet,  
To smooth the ice, or add another hue  
Unto the rainbow, or with taper-light  
To seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish,  
Is wasteful and ridiculous excess.

*Pembroke.* But that your royal pleasure must be done,  
This act is as an ancient tale new told,  
And in the last repeating troublesome,  
Being urged at a time unseasonable. 20

*Salisbury.* In this the antique and well noted face  
Of plain old form is much disfigured,  
And like a shifted wind unto a sail,  
It makes the course of thoughts to fetch about,  
Startles and frights consideration,  
Makes sound opinion sick and truth suspected,  
For putting on so new a fashioned robe.

*Pembroke.* When workmen strive to do better than well,  
They do confound their skill in covetousness,  
30 And oftentimes excusing of a fault  
Doth make the fault the worse by the excuse;  
As patches set upon a little breach  
Discredit more in hiding of the fault  
Than did the fault before it was so patched.

*Salisbury.* To this effect, before you were new crowned,  
We breathed our counsel: but it pleased your highness  
To overbear it, and we are all well pleased,  
Since all and every part of what we would  
Doth make a stand at what your highness will.  
40 *K. John.* Some reasons of this double coronation  
I have possessed you with and think them strong;  
†And more, more strong when lesser is my fear,  
I shall indue you with: meantime but ask  
What you would have reformed that is not well,  
And well shall you perceive how willingly  
I will both hear and grant you your requests.

*Pembroke.* Then I, as one that am the tongue of these,  
To sound the purposes of all their hearts,  
Both for myself and them...but, chief of all,  
50 Your safety...for the which myself and they  
Bend their best studies, heartily request  
Th'enfranchisement of Arthur, whose restraint  
Doth move the murmuring lips of discontent  
To break into this dangerous argument,—  
If what in rest you have in right you hold,  
Why then your fears, which as they say attend  
The steps of wrong, should move you to mew up  
Your tender kinsman, and to choke his days  
With barbarous ignorance, and deny his youth  
60 The rich advantage of good exercise.  
That the time's enemies may not have this



To grace occasions, let it be our suit  
That you have bid us ask his liberty,  
Which for our goods we do no further ask  
Than whereupon our weal, on you depending,  
Counts it your weal he have his liberty.

*HUBERT enters*

*K. John.* Let it be so: I do commit his youth  
To your direction....Hubert, what news with you?  
[*they talk apart*]

*Pembroke.* This is the man should do the bloody deed;  
He showed his warrant to a friend of mine. 70  
The image of a wicked heinous fault  
Lives in his eye; that close aspect of his  
Doth show the mood of a much troubled breast,  
And I do fearfully believe 'tis done,  
What we so feared he had a charge to do.

*Salisbury.* The colour of the king doth come and go  
Between his purpose and his conscience,  
Like heralds 'twixt two dreadful battles set:  
His passion is so ripe, it needs must break.

*Pembroke.* And when it breaks, I fear will issue thence 80  
The foul corruption of a sweet child's death.

*K. John* [*to Hubert, aloud*]. We cannot hold mortality's strong hand...

Good lords, although my will to give is living,  
The suit which you demand is gone and dead.  
He tells us Arthur is deceased to-night.

*Salisbury.* Indeed we feared his sickness was past cure.

*Pembroke.* Indeed we heard how near his death he was,  
Before the child himself felt he was sick:  
This must be answered either here or hence.

*K. John.* Why do you bend such solemn brows  
on me? 90

Think you I bear the shears of destiny?  
Have I commandment on the pulse of life?

*Salisbury.* It is apparent foul-play, and 'tis shame  
That greatness should so grossly offer it:  
So thrive it in your game! and so farewell.

*Pembroke.* Stay yet, Lord Salisbury, I'll go with thee,  
And find th'inheritance of this poor child,  
His little kingdom of a forced grave.  
That blood which owed the breadth of all this isle,  
100 Three foot of it doth hold: bad world the while!  
This must not be thus borne: this will break out  
To all our sorrows, and ere long I doubt.

[*the Lords depart*]

(*K. John.* They burn in indignation...I repent...  
There is no sure foundation set on blood...  
No certain life achieved by others' death...

*A Messenger enters*

A fearful eye thou hast. Where is that blood  
That I have seen inhabit in those cheeks?  
So foul a sky clears not without a storm.  
Pour down thy weather: how goes all in France?  
110 *Messenger.* From France to England. Never such  
a power

For any foreign preparation  
Was levied in the body of a land!  
The copy of your speed is learned by them;  
For when you should be told they do prepare,  
The tidings comes that they are all arrived.

*K. John.* O, where hath our intelligence been drunk?  
Where hath it slept? Where is my mother's care,  
That such an army could be drawn in France,  
And she not hear of it?

*Messenger.* My liege, her ear

Is stopped with dust: the first of April died  
Your noble mother; and as I hear, my lord,  
The Lady Constance in a frenzy died  
Three days before: but this from rumour's tongue  
I idly heard; if true or false I know not. 120

*K. John.* Withhold thy speed, dreadful occasion!  
O, make a league with me, till I have pleased  
My discontented peers! What! mother dead!  
How wildly then walks my estate in France!  
Under whose conduct came those powers of France  
That thou for truth giv'st out are landed here? 130

*Messenger.* Under the Dauphin.

*K. John.* Thou hast made me giddy  
With these ill tidings...

*The BASTARD enters with PETER of Pomfret*

Now, what says the world  
To your proceedings? do not seek to stuff  
My head with more ill news, for it is full.

*Bastard.* But if you be afeard to hear the worst,  
Then let the worst unheard fall on your head.

*K. John.* Bear with me, cousin, for I was amazed  
Under the tide; but now I breathe again  
Aloft the flood, and can give audience  
To any tongue, speak it of what it will. 140

*Bastard.* How I have sped among the clergymen,  
The sums I have collected shall express:  
But as I travelled hither through the land,  
I find the people strangely fantasied,  
Possessed with rumours, full of idle dreams,  
Not knowing what they fear, but full of fear.  
And here's a prophet, that I brought with me  
From forth the streets of Pomfret, whom I found  
With many hundreds treading on his heels;

150 To whom he sung, in rude harsh-sounding rhymes,  
That, ere the next Ascension-day at noon,  
Your highness should deliver up your crown.

*K. John.* Thou idle dreamer, wherefore didst thou so?

*Peter.* Foreknowing that the truth will fall out so.

*K. John.* Hubert, away with him! imprison him,  
And on that day at noon, whereon he says  
I shall yield up my crown, let him be hanged.  
Deliver him to safety, and return,  
For I must use thee....

*[Hubert takes Peter away]*

O my gentle cousin,  
Hear'st thou the news abroad, who are arrived?  
60 *Bastard.* The French, my lord. Men's mouths are  
full of it:

Besides, I met Lord Bigot and Lord Salisbury,  
With eyes as red as new-enkindled fire,  
And others more, going to seek the grave  
Of Arthur, whom they say is killed to-night  
On your suggestion.

*K. John.* Gentle kinsman, go,  
And thrust thyself into their companies.  
I have a way to win their loves again;  
Bring them before me.

*Bastard.* I will seek them out.

*K. John.* Nay, but make haste; the better foot before.  
170 O, let me have no subject enemies,  
When adverse foreigners affright my towns  
With dreadful pomp of stout invasion!  
Be Mercury, set feathers to thy heels,  
And fly—like thought—from them to me again.

*Bastard.* The spirit of the time shall teach me speed.

*K. John.* Spoke like a sprightful noble gentleman....  
*[he goes]*

*[to the Messenger]* Go after him; for he perhaps  
shall need



Some messenger betwixt me and the peers,  
And be thou he.

*Messenger.* With all my heart, my liege. [*he goes* 180  
*K. John.* My mother dead!

*HUBERT returns*

*Hubert.* My lord, they say five moons were seen tonight:  
Four fixéd, and the fifth did whirl about  
The other four in wondrous motion.

*K. John.* Five moons!

*Hubert.* Old men and beldams in the streets  
Do prophesy upon it dangerously:  
Young Arthur's death is common in their mouths,  
And when they talk of him, they shake their heads  
And whisper one another in the ear;  
And he that speaks doth gripe the hearer's wrist, 190  
Whilst he that hears makes fearful action,  
With wrinkled brows, with nods, with rolling eyes.  
I saw a smith stand with his hammer, thus,  
The whilst his iron did on the anvil cool,  
With open mouth swallowing a tailor's news,  
Who with his shears and measure in his hand,  
Standing on slippers, which his nimble haste  
Had falsely thrust upon contrary feet,  
Told of a many thousand warlike French  
That were embattléd and ranked in Kent: 200  
Another lean unwashed artificer  
Cuts off his tale and talks of Arthur's death.

*K. John.* Why seek'st thou to possess me with  
these fears?

Why urgest thou so oft young Arthur's death?  
Thy hand hath murdered him: I had a mighty cause  
To wish him dead, but thou hadst none to kill him.

*Hubert.* No had, my lord? why, did you not  
provoke me?

*K. John.* It is the curse of kings to be attended  
By slaves that take their humours for a warrant  
210 To break within the bloody house of life,  
And on the winking of authority  
To understand a law; to know the meaning  
Of dangerous majesty, when perchance it frowns  
More upon humour than advised respect.

*Hubert.* [*shows the warrant*] Here is your hand and  
seal for what I did.

*K. John.* O, when the last account 'twixt heaven  
and earth  
Is to be made, then shall this hand and seal  
Witness against us to damnation!  
How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds  
220 Make deeds ill done! Hadst not thou been by,  
A fellow by the hand of nature marked,  
Quoted and signed to do a deed of shame,  
This murder had not come into my mind:  
But taking note of thy abhorred aspect,  
Finding thee fit for bloody villany,  
Apt, liable to be employed in danger,  
I faintly broke with thee of Arthur's death;  
And thou, to be endeared to a king,  
Made it no conscience to destroy a prince.

230 *Hubert.* My lord—

*K. John.* Hadst thou but shook thy head or made  
a pause  
When I spake darkly what I purposéd,  
Or turned an eye of doubt upon my face,  
As bid me tell my tale in express words,  
Deep shame had struck me dumb, made me break off,  
And those thy fears might have wrought fears in me:  
But thou didst understand me by my signs  
And didst in signs again parley with sin;

Yea, without stop, didst let thy heart consent,  
And consequently thy rude hand to act 240  
The deed, which both our tongues held vile to name....  
Out of my sight, and never see me more!  
My nobles leave me, and my state is braved,  
Even at my gates, with ranks of foreign powers:  
Nay, in the body of this fleshly land, [*strikes his breast*  
This kingdom, this confine of blood and breath,  
Hostility and civil tumult reigns  
Between my conscience and my cousin's death.

*Hubert.* Arm you against your other enemies,  
I'll make a peace between your soul and you. 250  
Young Arthur is alive: this hand of mine  
Is yet a maiden and an innocent hand,  
Not painted with the crimson spots of blood.  
Within this bosom never entered yet  
The dreadful motion of a murderous thought,  
And you have slandered nature in my form,  
Which, howsoever rude exteriorly,  
Is yet the cover of a fairer mind  
Than to be butcher of an innocent child.

*K. John.* Doth Arthur live? O, haste thee to  
the peers, 260  
Throw this report on their incenséd rage,  
And make them tame to their obedience!  
Forgive the comment that my passion made  
Upon thy feature, for my rage was blind,  
And foul imaginary eyes of blood  
Presented thee more hideous than thou art.  
O, answer not; but to my closet bring  
The angry lords, with all expedient haste.  
I conjure thee but slowly; run more fast. [*they go*

[4. 3.]

*Before the castle**ARTHUR appears on the walls*

*Arthur.* The wall is high, and yet will I leap down.  
 Good ground, be pitiful and hurt me not!  
 There's few or none do know me—if they did,  
 This ship-boy's semblance hath disguised me quite....  
 I am afraid, and yet I'll venture it....  
 If I get down, and do not break my limbs,  
 I'll find a thousand shifts to get away:  
 As good to die and go, as die and stay.... [*he leaps*  
 O me! my uncle's spirit is in these stones.  
 10 Heaven take my soul, and England keep my bones!  
 [*he 'dies'*

*PEMBROKE, SALISBURY, and BIGOT come up talking*

*Salisbury.* Lords, I will meet him at Saint  
 Edmundsbury.

It is our safety, and we must embrace  
 This gentle offer of the perilous time.

*Pembroke.* Who brought that letter from the cardinal?

*Salisbury.* The Count Melun, a noble lord of France;  
 Whose private with me of the Dauphin's love  
 Is much more general than these lines import.

*Bigot.* To-morrow morning let us meet him then.

*Salisbury.* Or rather then set forward, for 'twill be  
 20 Two long days' journey, lords, or ere we meet.

*The BASTARD approaches*

*Bastard.* Once more to-day well met, distempered lords!  
 The king by me requests your presence straight.

*Salisbury.* The king hath dispossessed himself of us.  
 We will not line his thin bestained cloak



With our pure honours, nor attend the foot  
That leaves the print of blood where'er it walks.  
Return and tell him so: we know the worst.

*Bastard.* Whate'er you think, good words, I think,  
were best.

*Salisbury.* Our griefs, and not our manners, reason now.

*Bastard.* But there is little reason in your grief, 30  
Therefore 'twere reason you had manners now.

*Pembroke.* Sir, sir, impatience hath his privilege.

*Bastard.* 'Tis true, to hurt his master, no man else.

*Salisbury.* This is the prison...[*sees Arthur*] What is  
he lies here?

*Pembroke.* O death, made proud with pure and  
princely beauty!

The earth had not a hole to hide this deed.

*Salisbury.* Murder, as hating what himself hath done,  
Doth lay it open to urge on revenge.

*Bigot.* Or, when he doomed this beauty to a grave,  
Found it too precious-princely for a grave. 40

*Salisbury.* Sir Richard, what think you? have  
you beheld,

Or have you read or heard? or could you think?

Or do you almost think, although you see,

That you do see? could thought, without this object,  
Form such another? This is the very top,

The height, the crest, or crest unto the crest,

Of murder's arms: this is the bloodiest shame,

The wildest savagery, the vilest stroke,

That ever wall-eyed wrath or staring rage

Presented to the tears of soft remorse. 50

*Pembroke.* All murders past do stand excused in this:  
And this, so sole and so unmatched,  
Shall give a holiness, a purity,  
To the yet unbegotten sin of times;

And prove a deadly bloodshed but a jest,  
Example by this heinous spectacle.

*Bastard.* It is a damnéd and a bloody work,  
The graceless action of a heavy hand,  
If that it be the work of any hand.

60 *Salisbury.* If that it be the work of any hand!  
We had a kind of light what would ensue:  
It is the shameful work of Hubert's hand,  
The practice and the purpose of the king: [*he kneels*  
From whose obedience I forbid my soul,  
Kneeling before this ruin of sweet life,  
And breathing to his breathless excellence  
The incense of a vow, a holy vow,  
Never to taste the pleasures of the world,  
Never to be infected with delight,  
70 Nor conversant with ease and idleness,  
Till I have set a glory to this hand,  
By giving it the worship of revenge.

*Pembroke. Bigot.* Our souls religiously confirm  
thy words.

*HUBERT comes up*

*Hubert.* Lords, I am hot with haste in seeking you,  
Arthur doth live, the king hath sent for you.

*Salisbury.* O, he is bold, and blushes not at death.  
Avaunt, thou hateful villain, get thee gone!

*Hubert.* I am no villain.

*Salisbury.* [*draws his sword*] Must I rob the law?

*Bastard.* Your sword is bright, sir, put it up again.

80 *Salisbury.* Not till I sheathe it in a murderer's skin.

*Hubert.* Stand back, Lord Salisbury, stand back, I say;  
By heaven, I think my sword's as sharp as yours.  
I would not have you, lord, forget yourself,  
Nor tempt the danger of my true defence;

Lest I, by marking of your rage, forget  
Your worth, your greatness, and nobility.

*Bigot.* Out, dunghill! dar'st thou brave a nobleman?

*Hubert.* Not for my life: but yet I dare defend  
My innocent life against an emperor.

*Salisbury.* Thou art a murderer.

*Hubert.* Do not prove me so; go  
Yet I am none. Whose tongue soe'er speaks false,  
Not truly speaks; who speaks not truly, lies.

*Pembroke.* Cut him to pieces.

*Bastard.* Keep the peace, I say.

*Salisbury.* Stand by, or I shall gall you, Faulconbridge.

*Bastard.* Thou wert better gall the devil, Salisbury.  
If thou but frown on me, or stir thy foot,  
Or teach thy hasty spleen to do me shame,  
I'll strike thee dead. Put up thy sword betime,  
Or I'll so maul you and your toasting-iron,  
That you shall think the devil is come from hell. 100

*Bigot.* What wilt thou do, renowned Faulconbridge?  
Second a villain and a murderer?

*Hubert.* Lord Bigot, I am none.

*Bigot.* [*points*] Who killed this prince?

*Hubert.* [*sees the body for the first time*] 'Tis not an  
hour since I left him well: [*he kneels*  
I honoured him, I loved him, and will weep  
My date of life out for his sweet life's loss.

*Salisbury.* Trust not those cunning waters of his eyes,  
For villany is not without such rheum,  
And he, long traded in it, makes it seem  
Like rivers of remorse and innocency. 110

Away, with me, all you whose souls abhor  
Th'uncleanly savours of a slaughter-house,  
For I am stifled with this smell of sin.

*Bigot.* Away toward Bury, to the Dauphin there!

*Pembroke.* There, tell the king, he may inquire us out.  
[*the Lords depart*]

*Bastard.* Here's a good world! Knew you of this  
fair work?

Beyond the infinite and boundless reach  
Of mercy (if thou didst this deed of death)  
Art thou damned, Hubert.

*Hubert.* Do but hear me, sir.

120 *Bastard.* Ha! I'll tell thee what;  
Thou'rt damned as black—nay, nothing is so black.  
Thou art more deep damned than Prince Lucifer:  
There is not yet so ugly a fiend of hell  
As thou shalt be, if thou didst kill this child.

*Hubert.* Upon my soul—

*Bastard.* If thou didst but consent  
To this most cruel act, do but despair,  
And if thou want'st a cord, the smallest thread  
That ever spider twisted from her womb  
Will serve to strangle thee; a rush will be a beam  
130 To hang thee on; or, wouldst thou drown thyself,  
Put but a little water in a spoon,  
And it shall be as all the ocean,  
Enough to stifle such a villain up.  
I do suspect thee very grievously.

*Hubert.* If I in act, consent, or sin of thought,  
Be guilty of the stealing that sweet breath  
Which was embounded in this beauteous clay,  
Let hell want pains enough to torture me...  
I left him well.

*Bastard.* Go, bear him in thine arms:

[*Hubert takes up the body*]

140 I am amazed, methinks, and lose my way  
Among the thorns and dangers of this world.  
How easy dost thou take all England up



From forth this morsel of dead royalty,  
 The life, the right and truth of all this realm  
 Is fled to heaven; and England now is left  
 To tug and scramble, and to part by th'teeth  
 The unowed interest of proud-swelling state:  
 Now, for the bare-picked bone of majesty,  
 Doth doggéd war bristle his angry crest,  
 And snarleth in the gentle eyes of peace: 150  
 Now powers from home and discontents at home  
 Meet in one line; and vast confusion waits,  
 As doth a raven on a sick-fall'n beast,  
 The imminent decay of wrested pomp.  
 Now happy he whose cloak and centure can  
 Hold out this tempest. Bear away that child,  
 And follow me with speed; I'll to the king:  
 A thousand businesses are brief in hand,  
 And heaven itself doth frown upon the land. [*they go*]

[5. 1.]

*KING JOHN's palace*

*PANDULPH enthroned, holds the crown of England in his hands; KING JOHN kneels before him; Lords and others in attendance*

*K. John.* Thus have I yielded up into your hand  
 The circle of my glory.

*Pandulph.* [*places the crown upon John's head*]

Take again

From this my hand, as holding of the Pope,  
 Your sovereign greatness and authority.

*K. John.* [*rises*] Now keep your holy word, go meet  
 the French,

And from his holiness use all your power  
 To stop their marches 'fore we are inflamed:

Our discontented counties do revolt;  
Our people quarrel with obedience,  
10 Swearing allegiance and the love of soul  
To stranger blood, to foreign royalty:  
This inundation of mistempered humour  
Rests by you only to be qualified.  
Then pause not; for the present time's so sick,  
That present medicine must be ministered,  
Or overthrow incurable ensues.

*Pandulph.* It was my breath that blew this tempest up,  
Upon your stubborn usage of the Pope;  
But since you are a gentle convertite,  
20 My tongue shall hush again this storm of war,  
And make fair weather in your blust'ring land...  
On this Ascension-day, remember well,  
Upon your oath of service to the Pope,  
Go I to make the French lay down their arms.

[*he departs*]

*K. John.* Is this Ascension-day? Did not the prophet  
Say that before Ascension-day at noon  
My crown I should give off? Even so I have:  
I did suppose it should be on constraint,  
But, heaven be thanked, it is but voluntary.

*The BASTARD enters*

30 *Bastard.* All Kent hath yielded; nothing there holds out  
But Dover castle: London hath received,  
Like a kind host, the Dauphin and his powers:  
Your nobles will not hear you, but are gone  
To offer service to your enemy;  
And wild amazement hurries up and down  
The little number of your doubtful friends.

*K. John.* Would not my lords return to me again,  
After they heard young Arthur was alive?

*Bastard.* They found him dead and cast into the streets,  
An empty casket, where the jewel of life 40  
By some damned hand was robbed and ta'en away.

*K. John.* That villain Hubert told me he did live.

*Bastard.* So, on my soul, he did, for aught he knew...  
But wherefore do you droop? why look you sad?

Be great in act, as you have been in thought;  
Let not the world see fear and sad distrust  
Govern the motion of a kingly eye:  
Be stirring as the time, be fire with fire,  
Threaten the threat'ner, and outface the brow  
Of bragging horror: so shall inferior eyes, 50  
That borrow their behaviours from the great,  
Grow great by your example and put on  
The dauntless spirit of resolution....

Away, and glister like the god of war,  
When he intendeth to become the field:  
Show boldness and aspiring confidence:  
What, shall they seek the lion in his den?  
And fright him there? and make him tremble there?  
O, let it not be said: forage, and run

To meet displeasure farther from the doors, 60  
And grapple with him, ere he come so nigh.

*K. John.* The legate of the Pope hath been with me,  
And I have made a happy peace with him,  
And he hath promised to dismiss the powers  
Led by the Dauphin.

*Bastard.* O inglorious league!  
Shall we, upon the footing of our land,  
Send fair-play orders and make compromise,  
Insinuation, parley and base truce  
To arms invasive? shall a beardless boy,  
A cock' red silken wanton, brave our fields, 70  
And flesh his spirit in a warlike soil,

Mocking the air with colours idly spread,  
And find no check? Let us, my liege, to arms:  
Perchance the cardinal cannot make your peace;  
Or if he do, let it at least be said  
They saw we had a purpose of defence.

*K. John.* Have thou the ordering of this present time.

*Bastard.* Away then, with good courage! yet, I know,  
Our party may well meet a prouder foe. [they go]

[5. 2.] *The DAUPHIN's camp near St Edmundsbury*

*'Enter, in arms, LEWIS, SALISBURY, MELUN,  
PEMBROKE, BIGOT, Soldiers'*

*Lewis.* My Lord Melun, let this be copied out,  
And keep it safe for our remembrance:  
Return the precedent to these lords again,  
That, having our fair order written down,  
Both they and we, perusing o'er these notes,  
May know wherefore we took the sacrament  
And keep our faiths firm and inviolable.

*Salisbury.* Upon our sides it never shall be broken.  
And, noble Dauphin, albeit we swear  
10 A voluntary zeal and an unurgéd faith  
To your proceedings; yet believe me, prince,  
I am not glad that such a sore of time  
Should seek a plaster by contemned revolt,  
And heal the inveterate canker of one wound  
By making many: O, it grieves my soul,  
That I must draw this metal from my side  
To be a widow-maker! O, and there  
Where honourable rescue and defence  
Cries out upon the name of Salisbury!  
20 But such is the infection of the time,



That, for the health and physic of our right,  
We cannot deal but with the very hand  
Of stern injustice and confuséd wrong:  
And is't not pity, O my grievéd friends,  
That we, the sons and children of this isle,  
Were born to see so sad an hour as this,  
Wherein we step after a stranger, march  
Upon her gentle bosom, and fill up  
Her enemies' ranks—I must withdraw and weep  
Upon the spot of this enforcéd cause—  
To grace the gentry of a land remote,  
And follow unacquainted colours here?  
What, here? O nation, that thou could'st remove!  
That Neptune's arms, who clippeth thee about,  
Would bear thee from the knowledge of thyself,  
And grapple thee unto a pagan shore,  
Where these two Christian armies might combine  
The blood of malice in a vein of league,  
And not to spend it so unneighbourly!

30

*Lewis.* A noble temper dost thou show in this;  
And great affections wrastling in thy bosom  
Doth make an earthquake of nobility:  
O, what a noble combat hast thou fought,  
Between compulsion and a brave respect!  
Let me wipe off this honourable dew,  
That silverly doth progress on thy cheeks:  
My heart hath melted at a lady's tears,  
Being an ordinary inundation;  
But this effusion of such manly drops,  
This shower, blown up by tempest of the soul,  
Startles mine eyes, and makes me more amazed  
Than had I seen the vaulty top of heaven  
Figured quite o'er with burning meteors.  
Lift up thy brow, renownéd Salisbury,

40

50

And with a great heart heave away this storm:  
Commend these waters to those baby eyes  
That never saw the giant world enraged,  
Nor met with fortune other than at feasts,  
Full of warm blood, of mirth, of gossiping:  
60 Come, come; for thou shalt thrust thy hand as deep  
Into the purse of rich prosperity  
As Lewis himself: so, nobles, shall you all,  
That knit your sinews to the strength of mine....  
[a trumpet sounds  
And even there, methinks, an angel spake.

*PANDULPH approaches with his train*

Look, where the holy legate comes apace,  
To give us warrant from the hand of heaven,  
And on our actions set the name of right  
With holy breath.

*Pandulph.* Hail, noble prince of France!  
The next is this: King John hath reconciled  
70 Himself to Rome, his spirit is come in,  
That so stood out against the holy church,  
The great metropolis and see of Rome:  
Therefore thy threat'ning colours now wind up,  
And tame the savage spirit of wild war,  
That, like a lion fostered up at hand,  
It may lie gently at the foot of peace,  
And be no further harmful than in show.

*Lewis.* Your grace shall pardon me, I will not back:  
I am too high-born to be propertied,  
80 To be a secondary at control,  
Or useful serving-man and instrument  
To any sovereign state throughout the world.  
Your breath first kindled the dead coal of wars  
Between this chastised kingdom and myself,

And brought in matter that should feed this fire;  
And now 'tis far too huge to be blown out  
With that same weak wind which enkindled it:  
You taught me how to know the face of right,  
Acquainted me with interest to this land,  
Yea, thrust this enterprise into my heart, 90  
And come ye now to tell me John hath made  
His peace with Rome? What is that peace to me?  
I, by the honour of my marriage-bed,  
After young Arthur, claim this land for mine,  
And now it is half-conquered must I back,  
Because that John hath made his peace with Rome?  
Am I Rome's slave? What penny hath Rome borne,  
What men provided, what munition sent,  
To underprop this action? Is't not I  
That undergo this charge? who else but I, 100  
And such as to my claim are liable,  
Sweat in this business and maintain this war?  
Have I not heard these islanders shout out,  
'Vive le roy!' as I have banked their towns?  
Have I not here the best cards for the game,  
To win this easy match played for a crown?  
And shall I now give o'er the yielded set?  
No, no, on my soul, it never shall be said.

*Pandulph.* You look but on the outside of this work.

*Lewis.* Outside or inside, I will not return 110  
Till my attempt so much be glorified  
As to my ample hope was promised  
Before I drew this gallant head of war,  
And culled these fiery spirits from the world,  
To outlook conquest and to win renown  
Even in the jaws of danger and of death...

[a loud blast from a trumpet  
What lusty trumpet thus doth summon us?

*The BASTARD comes up, attended by officers*

*Bastard.* According to the fair-play of the world,  
Let me have audience; I am sent to speak:

120 My holy lord of Milan, from the king  
I come, to learn how you have dealt for him;  
And, as you answer, I do know the scope  
And warrant limited unto my tongue.

*Pandulph.* The Dauphin is too wilful-opposite,  
And will not temporize with my entreaties;  
He flatly says he'll not lay down his arms.

*Bastard.* By all the blood that ever fury breathed,  
The youth says well....Now hear our English king  
For thus his royalty doth speak in me:  
130 He is prepared, and reason too he should.  
This apish and unmannerly approach,  
This harness'd masque and unadvised revel,  
This unhaired sauciness and boyish troops,  
The king doth smile at, and is well prepared  
To whip this dwarfish war, these pigmy arms,  
From out the circle of his territories.  
That hand which had the strength, even at your door,  
To cudgel you and make you take the hatch,  
To dive like buckets in conceal'd wells,  
140 To crouch in litter of your stable planks,  
To lie like pawns locked up in chests and trunks,  
To hug with swine, to seek sweet safety out  
In vaults and prisons, and to thrill and shake  
Even at the crying of your nation's crow,  
Thinking his voice an arm'd Englishman;  
Shall that victorious hand be feeble here,  
That in your chambers gave you chastisement?  
No: know, the gallant monarch is in arms,  
And like an eagle o'er his aery towers,



To souse annoyance that comes near his nest... 150  
And you degenerate, you ingrate revolts,  
You bloody Neroes, ripping up the womb  
Of your dear mother England, blush for shame:  
For your own ladies and pale-visaged maids  
Like Amazons come tripping after drums,  
Their thimbles into armed gauntlets change,  
Their needles to lances, and their gentle hearts  
To fierce and bloody inclination.

*Lewis.* There end thy brave, and turn thy face in peace.  
We grant thou canst outscold us: fare thee well. 160  
We hold our time too precious to be spent  
With such a brabblers.

*Pandulph.* Give me leave to speak.

*Bastard.* No, I will speak.

*Lewis.* We will attend to neither...  
Strike up the drums, and let the tongue of war  
Plead for our interest and our being here.

*Bastard.* Indeed, your drums, being beaten, will  
cry out;  
And so shall you, being beaten: do but start  
An echo with the clamour of thy drum,  
And even at hand a drum is ready braced  
That shall reverberate all as loud as thine; 170  
Sound but another, and another shall  
(As loud as thine) rattle the welkin's ear,  
And mock the deep-mouthed thunder: for at hand  
(Not trusting to this halting legate here,  
Whom he hath used rather for sport than need)  
Is warlike John; and in his forehead sits  
A bare-ribbed death, whose office is this day  
To feast upon whole thousands of the French.

*Lewis.* Strike up our drums, to find this danger out.

*Bastard.* And thou shalt find it, Dauphin, do not doubt. 180  
[they go]

[5. 3.]                    *The field of battle*

‘*Alarums. Enter KING JOHN and HUBERT*’

*K. John.* How goes the day with us? O, tell  
me, Hubert.

*Hubert.* Badly, I fear: how fares your majesty?

*K. John.* This fever, that hath troubled me so long,  
Lies heavy on me; O, my heart is sick!

*A Messenger runs up*

*Messenger.* My lord, your valiant kinsman,  
Faulconbridge,

Desires your majesty to leave the field,  
And send him word by me which way you go.

*K. John.* Tell him, toward Swinstead, to the  
abbey there.

*Messenger.* Be of good comfort; for the great supply  
10 That were expected by the Dauphin here,  
Are wracked three nights ago on Goodwin Sands.  
This news was brought to Richard but even now.  
The French fight coldly, and retire themselves.

*K. John.* Ay me! this tyrant fever burns me up,  
And will not let me welcome this good news.  
Set on toward Swinstead: to my litter straight,  
Weakness possesseth me, and I am faint.                    [*they go*]

[5. 4.]    *SALISBURY, PEMBROKE, and BIGOT pass by*

*Salisbury.* I did not think the king so stored with friends.

*Pembroke.* Up once again: put spirit in the French.  
If they miscarry, we miscarry too.

*Salisbury.* That misbegotten devil, Faulconbridge,  
In spite of spite, alone upholds the day.

*Pembroke.* They say King John sore sick hath left  
the field.

*Soldiers draw near supporting 'MELUN, wounded'*

*Melun.* Lead me to the revolts of England here.

*Salisbury.* When we were happy we had other names.

*Pembroke.* It is the Count Melun.

*Salisbury.*

Wounded to death.

*Melun.* Fly, noble English, you are bought and sold, 10  
Unthread the rude eye of rebellion,  
And welcome home again discarded faith.  
Seek out King John and fall before his feet;  
For if the French be lord of this loud day,  
He means to recompense the pains you take  
By cutting off your heads: thus hath he sworn,  
And I with him, and many moe with me,  
Upon the altar at Saint Edmundsbury,  
Even on that altar where we swore to you  
Dear amity and everlasting love. 20

*Salisbury.* May this be possible? may this be true?

*Melun.* Have I not hideous death within my view,  
Retaining but a quantity of life,  
Which bleeds away, even as a form of wax  
Resolveth from his figure 'gainst the fire?  
What in the world should make me now deceive,  
Since I must lose the use of all deceit?  
Why should I then be false, since it is true  
That I must die here and live hence by Truth?  
I say again, if Lewis do win the day, 30  
He is forsworn, if e'er those eyes of yours  
Behold another day break in the east:  
But even this night, whose black contagious breath  
Already smokes about the burning crest  
Of the old, feeble and day-wearied sun,  
Even this ill night, your breathing shall expire,  
Paying the fine of rated treachery,

Even with a treacherous fine of all your lives,  
 If Lewis by your assistance win the day....  
 40 Commend me to one Hubert, with your king;  
 The love of him, and this respect besides,  
 For that my grandsire was an Englishman,  
 Awakes my conscience to confess all this....  
 In lieu whereof, I pray you, bear me hence  
 From forth the noise and rumour of the field,  
 Where I may think the remnant of my thoughts  
 In peace, and part this body and my soul  
 With contemplation and devout desires.  
*Salisbury.* We do believe thee—and beshrew my soul  
 50 But I do love the favour and the form  
 Of this most fair occasion, by the which  
 We will untread the steps of damnéd flight,  
 And like a bated and retired flood,  
 Leaving our rankness and irregular course,  
 Stoop low within those bounds we have o'erlooked,  
 And calmly run on in obedience,  
 Even to our ocean, to our great King John....  
 My arm shall give thee help to bear thee hence,  
 For I do see the cruel pangs of death  
 60 Right in thine eye....Away, my friends! New flight!  
 And happy newness, that intends old right.

*[they go, bearing Melun in their arms]*

[5. 5.]

*The DAUPHIN's camp*

*LEWIS and his train return after the battle*

*Lewis.* The sun of heaven methought was loath to set,  
 But stayed, and made the western welkin blush,  
 When English measured backward their own ground  
 In faint retire: O, bravely came we off,



When with a volley of our needless shot,  
After such bloody toil, we bid good night,  
And wound our tattering colours clearly up,  
Last in the field, and almost lords of it!

*A Messenger hurries up*

*Messenger.* Where is my prince, the Dauphin?

*Lewis.* Here: what news?

*Messenger.* The Count Melun is slain; the English lords 10  
By his persuasion are again fall'n off,  
And your supply, which you have wished so long,  
Are cast away and sunk on Goodwin Sands.

*Lewis.* Ah, foul shrewd news! beshrew thy very heart!  
I did not think to be so sad to-night  
As this hath made me.... Who was he that said  
King John did fly an hour or two before  
The stumbling night did part our weary powers?

*Messenger.* Whoever spoke it, it is true, my lord.

*Lewis.* Well; keep good quarter and good care to-night. 20  
The day shall not be up so soon as I,  
To try the fair adventure of to-morrow. [they go

[5. 6.] *Near Swinstead Abbey; night*

*The BASTARD and HUBERT, meeting*

*Bastard.* Who's there? speak, ho! speak quickly, or  
I shoot.

*Hubert.* A friend.... What art thou?

*Bastard.* Of the part of England.

*Hubert.* Whither dost thou go?

*Bastard.* What's that to thee?

*Hubert.* Why may not I demand  
Of thine affairs, as well as thou of mine?

*Bastard.* Hubert, I think.

*Hubert.* Thou hast a perfect thought:  
I will upon all hazards well believe  
Thou art my friend, that know'st my tongue so well:  
Who art thou?

*Bastard.* Who thou wilt: and if thou please,  
10 Thou mayst befriend me so much as to think  
I come one way of the Plantagenets.

*Hubert.* Unkind remembrance! thou and eyeless night  
Have done me shame: brave soldier, pardon me,  
That any accent breaking from thy tongue  
Should 'scape the true acquaintance of mine ear.

*Bastard.* Come, come; sans compliment, what news  
abroad?

*Hubert.* Why, here walk I in the black brow of night  
To find you out.

*Bastard.* Brief, then; and what's the news?

*Hubert.* O, my sweet sir, news fitting to the night,  
20 Black, fearful, comfortless, and horrible.

*Bastard.* Show me the very wound of this ill news—  
I am no woman, I'll not swoon at it.

*Hubert.* The king, I fear, is poisoned by a monk.  
I left him almost speechless, and broke out  
To acquaint you with this evil, that you might  
The better arm you to the sudden time,  
Than if you had at leisure known of this.

*Bastard.* How did he take it? who did taste to him?

*Hubert.* A monk, I tell you, a resolvéd villain,  
30 Whose bowels suddenly burst out: the king  
Yet speaks and peradventure may recover.

*Bastard.* Who didst thou leave to tend his majesty?

*Hubert.* Why, know you not? the lords are all  
come back,  
And brought Prince Henry in their company,

At whose request the king hath pardoned them,  
And they are all about his majesty.

*Bastard.* Withhold thine indignation, mighty heaven,  
And tempt us not to bear above our power!

I'll tell thee, Hubert, half my power this night,  
Passing these flats, are taken by the tide.

These Lincoln Washes have devoured them.

Myself, well mounted, hardly have escaped....

Away before: conduct me to the king.

I doubt he will be dead or ere I come.

[*they go*]

40

[5.7.]      *The orchard of Swinstead Abbey*

*PRINCE HENRY, SALISBURY and BIGOT*  
*come from the abbey*

*P. Henry.* It is too late! the life of all his blood  
Is touched corruptibly: and his pure brain  
(Which some suppose the soul's frail dwelling-house)  
Doth by the idle comments that it makes  
Foretell the ending of mortality.

*PEMBROKE comes forth*

*Pembroke.* His highness yet doth speak, and  
holds belief

That, being brought into the open air,  
It would allay the burning quality  
Of that fell poison which assaileth him.

*P. Henry.* Let him be brought into the orchard here... 10  
Doth he still rage?      [*Bigot goes within*]

*Pembroke.*      He is more patient  
Than when you left him; even now he sung.

*P. Henry.* O vanity of sickness! fierce extremes  
In their continuance will not feel themselves.

Death, having preyed upon the outward parts,  
†Leaves them invisible, and his siege is now  
Against the mind, the which he pricks and wounds  
With many legions of strange fantasies,  
Which, in their throng and press to that last hold,  
20 Confound themselves....'Tis strange, that death  
should sing:

I am the cygnet to this pale faint swan,  
Who chants a doleful hymn to his own death,  
And from the organ-pipe of frailty sings  
His soul and body to their lasting rest.

*Salisbury.* Be of good comfort, prince, for you are born  
To set a form upon that indigest  
Which he hath left so shapeless and so rude.

*BIGOT returns with attendants carrying  
KING JOHN in a chair*

*K. John.* Ay, marry, now my soul hath elbow-room.  
It would not out at windows nor at doors.  
30 There is so hot a summer in my bosom,  
That all my bowels crumble up to dust:  
I am a scribbled form drawn with a pen  
Upon a parchment, and against this fire  
Do I shrink up.

*P. Henry.* How fares your majesty?

*K. John.* Poisoned—ill fare: dead, forsook, cast off,  
And none of you will bid the winter come  
To thrust his icy fingers in my maw;  
Nor let my kingdom's rivers take their course  
Through my burned bosom; nor entreat the north  
40 To make his bleak winds kiss my parchéd lips  
And comfort me with cold....I do not ask you much,  
I beg cold comfort; and you are so strait  
And so ingrateful, you deny me that.



*P. Henry.* O, that there were some virtue in my tears,  
That might relieve you!

*K. John.* The salt in them is hot....  
Within me is a hell, and there the poison  
Is, as a fiend, confined to tyrannize  
On unreprievable condemnéd blood.

*The BASTARD enters in haste*

*Bastard.* O, I am scalded with my violent motion,  
And spleen of speed to see your majesty! 50

*K. John.* O cousin, thou art come to set mine eye:  
The tackle of my heart is cracked and burnt,  
And all the shrouds wherewith my life should sail  
Are turnéd to one thread, one little hair:  
My heart hath one poor string to stay it by,  
Which holds but till thy news be utteréd,  
And then all this thou see'st is but a clod  
And module of confounded royalty.

*Bastard.* The Dauphin is preparing hitherward,  
Where heaven He knows how we shall answer him: 60  
For in a night the best part of my power,  
As I upon advantage did remove,  
Were in the Washes all unwarily  
Devouréd by the unexpected flood. [*the King dies*

*Salisbury.* You breathe these dead news in as dead  
an ear.

My liege! my lord! but now a king, now thus.

*P. Henry.* Even so must I run on, and even so stop!  
What surety of the world, what hope, what stay,  
When this was now a king, and now is clay!

*Bastard.* Art thou gone so? I do but stay behind 70  
To do the office for thee of revenge,  
And then my soul shall wait on thee to heaven,  
As it on earth hath been thy servant still....

[*to the nobles* Now, now, you stars, that move in your  
right spheres,  
Where be your powers? show now your  
mended faiths,  
And instantly return with me again,  
To push destruction and perpetual shame  
Out of the weak door of our fainting land:  
Straight let us seek, or straight we shall be sought—  
80 The Dauphin rages at our very heels.

*Salisbury.* It seems you know not, then, so much  
as we.

The Cardinal Pandulph is within at rest,  
Who half an hour since came from the Dauphin,  
And brings from him such offers of our peace  
As we with honour and respect may take,  
With purpose presently to leave this war.

*Bastard.* He will the rather do it, when he sees  
Ourselves well sinewéd to our defence.

*Salisbury.* Nay, it is in a manner done already,  
90 For many carriages he hath dispatched  
To the sea-side, and put his cause and quarrel  
To the disposing of the cardinal:  
With whom yourself, myself and other lords,  
If you think meet, this afternoon will post  
To consummate this business happily.

*Bastard.* Let it be so. And you, my noble prince,  
With other princes that may best be spared,  
Shall wait upon your father's funeral.

*P. Henry.* At Worcester must his body be interred,  
100 For so he willed it.

*Bastard.* Thither shall it then.  
And happily may your sweet self put on  
The lineal state and glory of the land!  
To whom, with all submission, on my knee

I do bequeath my faithful services  
And true subjection everlastingly.

*Salisbury.* And the like tender of our love we make,  
To rest without a spot for evermore.

*P. Henry.* I have a kind soul that would give  
you thanks,

And knows not how to do it but with tears.

*Bastard.* O, let us pay the time but needful woe, 110  
Since it hath been beforehand with our griefs....

This England never did, nor never shall,

Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,

But when it first did help to wound itself....

Now these her princes are come home again,

Come the three corners of the world in arms,

And we shall shock them: nought shall make us rue,

If England to itself do rest but true. [they go

[illegible]



## THE COPY FOR *KING JOHN*, 1623

The F. text of *King John* is, on the whole, a tidy one and well printed. Its spelling is comparatively normal, or at least not markedly Shakespearian; its misprints are few; and its punctuation is of the ordinary type found in F. In a word, it differs considerably from texts like *Hamlet* (Q2), *Love's Labour's Lost* (Q1), *Coriolanus* (F.) and *Antony and Cleopatra* (F.), all of which would appear to have been set up from Shakespeare's own MSS. The inference, therefore, is that the copy used by the compositors for *King John* in 1623 was either a good playhouse prompt-book or a careful transcript therefrom.

This conclusion tallies with that arrived at, on other grounds, by Dr R. B. McKerrow in an interesting 'Suggestion regarding Shakespeare's Manuscripts' published in *The Review of English Studies* for October, 1935. Dr McKerrow's 'suggestion' is that original Shakespearian texts in which the character-names in speech-headings and stage-directions are consistently printed in the same form may be regarded as set up from prompt-books, whereas the copy for texts in which such character-names exhibit inconsistency is probably author's manuscript. Among the former he names *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Twelfth Night*, *Macbeth* and *King John*, all F. texts, and among the latter *Romeo and Juliet* (Q2), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Q1), *All's Well* (F.), and *The Merchant of Venice* (Q1). I think there is a good deal to be said for this proposed clue for a classification. It works beautifully, for example, for the F. and Q2 texts of *Hamlet*; and I hope to discuss it further on a later occasion. But like most generalisations

about the text of Shakespeare, as I have myself found by experience, it does not always work, and must be applied cautiously. Strangely enough Dr McKerrow has not seen that it fails altogether as regards *King John*, and I can only conjecture that he has classed this text with his 'normal' group because he unconsciously realises that it belongs to the prompt-copy type in view of the features noted in my first paragraph. Certainly, its designation of character-names in the speech-headings is most irregular. Not only does it display the inconsistencies spoken of in my Introduction<sup>1</sup>, but it denotes the Queen Mother as *Elea.*, *Eli.* or *Ele.* in 1. 1., as *Queen*, *Qu. Mo.*, and *Old Qu.* in 2. 1., and as *Ele.* again in 3. 3. Moreover, though, as Dr McKerrow notes, it is natural that the Bastard's speech-headings should change from *Philip*<sup>2</sup> to *Bast.* in 1. 1. as soon as his bastardy is established, that explanation will not serve for the reversion to *Philip* in the stage-direction at 3. 1. 74 and in the two speeches that follow his entry, though the text returns to *Bast.* after the arrival of Pandulph at l. 134.

If Dr McKerrow is right, as I believe him to be, that in straightforward prompt-copy the character-names are consistent, and if he and I are right in the impression we share that the F. *King John* was printed from prompt-copy, how are its forementioned irregularities to be accounted for? The explanation, I suggest, is that what lies behind the F. text is prompt-copy, indeed, but not normal prompt-copy. In other words, I connect the irregularities in the designation of the characters with the textual dislocations for which we have seen clear evidence in the Introduction<sup>3</sup>, and I explain them as due to a revision of the play by the

<sup>1</sup> v. above, pp. xliv–xlvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Review of English Studies*, op. cit. p. 463.

<sup>3</sup> v. above, pp. xlviii–l.

author, presumably carried through on his original manuscript or so-called 'foul papers,' which necessitated a re-writing of portions of the original prompt-book. It would be interesting to speculate, on the evidence of the irregularities in question, upon the character and extent of this revision. But beyond noting that the reversion to *Philip* for the Bastard in 3. 1. occurs in what we have seen above to be part of the older textual stratum, we cannot here pursue the matter.

Dr McKerrow observes that playhouse copy would 'of necessity be accurate and unambiguous in the matter of the character-names<sup>1</sup>.' We may doubt the accuracy, but scarcely the lack of ambiguity. It is, therefore, worthy of note that the irregularities in *King John* do not raise serious difficulties. The confusion between Hubert and the First Citizen was, as we have seen, no theatrical confusion at all, since it was almost certainly intended by Shakespeare; Elinor is the only queen in the play; Philip of France is never called 'Philip' in his speech-headings, so that he would not be likely to be confused with Philip the Bastard; similarly Lewis the Dauphin is always called 'Dolphin' or 'Daulphin' in his speech-headings, never 'Lewis,' so that the lines assigned to 'Lewis' at the beginning of 2. 1. were probably accepted as belonging to the French King by the prompter.

Finally, the theory that the F. *King John* was printed from a revised prompt-book, serves to explain the otherwise puzzling business of the act-divisions in the text. The absence of act-divisions in the Good Quartos and the presence of them in most texts of the First Folio, where they are clearly generally supplied by those responsible for the publication of that volume, has led me to revive the theory of Dr Johnson that Shakespeare himself took no stock in such divisions<sup>2</sup>. In any event,

<sup>1</sup> *Review of English Studies*, op. cit. p. 464.

<sup>2</sup> Textual Introduction to *Tempest*, p. xxxvii.



I can quote Sir Edmund Chambers to the effect that the act-divisions in the F. *King John* 'can hardly be correct, or at least Shakespeare's<sup>1</sup>.' Apart from the misprint of 'Quartus' for 'Quintus,' the divisions for acts 4 and 5 are unobjectionable enough and are as a matter of fact followed by all modern editors. But we can credit neither Shakespeare nor any playhouse scribe with the absurdity of an 'Actus Secundus' of seventy-four lines, ending in the middle of a scene, and of 'Actus Tertius' beginning thereafter. If, as we have seen above<sup>2</sup>, the heading 'Actus Tertius' shows where the third act, or at least a fresh act, began in the prompt-book made from Shakespeare's original draft of the play, the insertion of an additional seventy-four lines (by way of preface) to this act at a later revision would leave a pretty little problem for anyone anxious to divide the text up into the regular five acts demanded by convention. In short, I attribute the 'Actus Secundus' heading to Jaggard's 'editor,' and conjecture that he found the headings 'Actus Tertius,' 'Actus Quartus,' 'Actus Quintus,' or at least indications of some kind for such act-divisions, in the prompt-book (or transcript of the prompt-book) handed over to him at the Globe. The theory, it is to be noted, involves the further supposition that the acting company for whom Shakespeare first wrote *King John* marked the act-divisions in its prompt-copies, and that the company for whom he made the second revision paid no regard to them. And, if this supposition be well founded, it offers one more indication that the two companies were different, and that the second company was the Chamberlain's men, for whom Shakespeare wrote the undivided Good Quarto texts.

<sup>1</sup> *William Shakespeare*, i, 201.

<sup>2</sup> v. *Introduction*, pp. xlviii-xlix.



## NOTES

All significant departures from the Folio text, including emendations in punctuation, are recorded; the name of the critic who first suggested or printed an accepted reading being placed in brackets. Illustrative spellings and misprints are quoted from the Good Quarto texts, or from the Folio where no Good Quarto exists. The line-numeration for reference to plays not yet issued in this edition is that used in Bartlett's *Concordance* and *The Globe Shakespeare*.

F., unless otherwise specified, stands for the First Folio; T.R. for *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, 1591 (quoted from the Praetorius Facsimile, 1888, ed. by F. J. Furnivall); MSH. for *The Manuscript of Shakespeare's Hamlet*, 1934, by J. Dover Wilson; Furness for the edition of *King John* in *The New Variorum Shakespeare*, 1919; Moore Smith for the edition in *The Warwick Shakespeare*; Wright for the edition in *The Clarendon Shakespeare* (1886); Herford for the edition in *The Eversley Shakespeare* (1899); Ivor John for the edition in *The Arden Shakespeare* (1907); Camb. for *The Cambridge Shakespeare* (1863); Abbott for *A Shakespeare Grammar* by E. A. Abbott; Boswell-Stone for *Shakespeare's Holinshed* by W. G. Boswell-Stone; Liebermann for 'Shakespeare als Bearbeiter des *King John*' (*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, vols. 142, 143); E.M.I. for *Every Man in his Humour* by Ben Jonson; Onions for *A Shakespeare Glossary* by C. T. Onions; Munro for *The Troublesome Reign*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall and John Munro ('The Shakespeare Library,' 1913); R. Noble for *Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge* by Richmond Noble, 1935; O.E.D. for *The Oxford Dictionary*; Sh. Eng. for *Shakespeare's England*; Tilley for *Elizabethan*

*Proverb Lore* by M. P. Tilley; S.D. for stage-direction; G. for Glossary.

*Characters in the Play.* A list was first supplied by Rowe. For *Arthur, Duke of Britain* v. note 2. 1. 156; for *The Earl of Essex* v. note 1. 1. 43 S.D.; for *Hubert de Burgh* v. *Introd.* pp. xlv–xlvii; for *Lewis, the Dauphin* v. *Introd.* pp. xlv–xlv; for *Philip the Bastard* v. *Introd.* pp. xxxix–xli; for *James Gurney* v. note 1. 1. 219 S.D.; for *Lymoges, Duke of Austria* v. *Introd.* pp. xxxviii–xxxix; for *Chatillion* v. note 1. 1. 1 S.D.; for *A Citizen of Angiers* v. *Introd.* pp. xlv–xlvii.

*Acts and Scenes.* v. *Introd.* pp. xlviii–xlix and *Note on the Copy*, pp. 93–4. I have followed the divisions made by Camb., and adopted by most modern editions. F. divides as follows: 1. 1. (Actus Primus, Scæna Prima), 2. 1. (Scæna Secunda), 3. 1. 1–74 (Actus Secundus), 3. 1. 75–end (Actus Tertius, Scæna prima), 3. 2. and 3. 3. (Scæna Secunda), 3. 4. (Scæna Tertia), 4. 1. (Actus Quartus, Scæna prima), 4. 2. (Scæna Secunda), 4. 3. (Scæna Tertia), 5. 1. (Actus Quartus, Scæna prima), 5. 2. (Scæna Secunda), 5. 3. (Scæna Tertia), 5. 4. (Scæna Quarta), 5. 5. (Scæna Quinta), 5. 6. (Scæna Sexta), 5. 7. (Scæna Septima).

*Punctuation.* Of the ordinary F. type, i.e. probably derived from the pointing in the prompt-book, augmented and at times altered, I suspect for the worse, by the F. compositors.

*Stage-directions.* All F. S.D.s are quoted in the notes, together with some of special interest from T.R.

#### I. I.

S.D. F. 'Enter King Iohn, Queene Elinor, Pembroke, Essex, and Salisbury, with the Chattyllion of France.' T.R. 'Enter K. Iohn, Queene Elinor his mother, William Marshal Earle of Pembroke, the Earles of Essex, and of Salisbury.' In T.R. 'Chattilion'

does not enter until l. 22. Chatillion is not a historical character, but is invented by the author of T.R., who perhaps took the name from Holinshed's *Chronicles* (iii. 555), where he is called the Admiral of France and mentioned among those slain at Agincourt (cf. *Hen. V*, 3. 5. 43; 4. 8. 98). The description of him in the F. S.D. as 'the Chattyllion of France' suggests that Shakespeare took the name to be a title and perhaps identified it with 'Chastilian,' a suggestion which derives support from the S.D. in T.R. (quoted at note 2. 1. 333) which spells Chatillion 'Castilean.' Furness notes that Robert Fitzwater is described by Stow as 'Chastilian and Banner-bearer of London.'

3. *in my behaviour* i.e. 'the King of France speaks in the character which I here assume' (Johnson), v. G. 'behaviour' and cf. 5. 2. 128-29.

4. *The borrowed majesty* Cf. *Hen. V*, 2. 4. 79 'The borrowed glories.'

6. *embassy* v. G.

7. *in right and true behalf* i.e. 'in support of the claim which is rightful and true' (Wright). Cf. T.R. II. iii. 221-22 'true and rightfull King to England, Cornwall, and Wales, & to their Territories.'

9-10. *Arthur... territories*, (Rowe) F. 'Arthur... Territories:' Cf. T.R. I. ii. 1-2, cited *Introd.* p. xxv.

11. *To Ireland... Maine* Cf. T.R. I. i. 33-34 'of Ireland, Poitiers, Anjou, Torain, Main.' Arthur's claim in Holinshed does not extend to 'this fair island' but only to 'Poitiers, Anjou, Maine and Touraine.' In T.R. on the other hand he requires 'the Kingdom of England, with the Lordship of Ireland' etc.

13. *usurpingly* Cf. II. 40-44.

17. *control* The vb. usually = 'overpower, overmaster' with Sh.; the sb. here = 'mastery, compulsion.' Cf. T.R. I. ii. 12 'Controld the mannage of proud Angiers walls.'

20. *Controlment for control* (Vaughan) F. 'Controle-

ment for controlement' The change restores the metre and gives better sense, i.e. 'a check to your compulsion,' v. previous note. The F. misprint would be an easy one.

21. *Then take . . . mouth* Cf. T.R. 1. i. 45-47 'in my Masters name . . . I doo defie thee as an Enemye.'

22. *The farthest . . . embassy* Cf. *Ham.* 1. 2. 36-38:

Giving to you no further personal power  
To business with the king, more than the scope  
Of these delated articles allow.

24-26. *Be thou . . . heard* Cf. *Hen. V*, 2. 4. 99-100.

25. *For ere . . . there* Cf. T.R. 1. i. 63 'We meane to be in Fraunce as soone as he,' and note 2. 1. 57-59. *report . . . there* F. 'report, I will be there:'

26. *cannon* For this anachronism cf. 2. 1. 461-2, etc.

28. *sullen presage . . . decay* i.e. 'the dismal passing bell that announces your own dissolution' (Steevens). Cf. 2 *Hen. IV*, 1. 1. 101-3:

and his tongue  
Sounds ever after as a sullen bell,  
Remembered tolling a departing friend.

30. S.D. F. 'Exit Chat. and Pem.'

34. *Upon the . . . her son* i.e. in support of the rights and cause of her son; cf. 2. 1. 237 'upon the right' and *Macb.* 3. 6. 30 'upon his aid.'

35-6. *made whole . . . arguments of love* i.e. 'set right . . . friendly discussions' (Moore Smith).

37. *manage* v. G. The word is borrowed from T.R., v. note l. 17.

38. *fearful-bloody* (Ivor John) F. 'fearefull bloudy'

40-43. *Your strong . . . hear* This makes it quite clear that John is not the rightful King; it is an addition by Sh. for which T.R. gave him no precedent. Cf. *Introd.* pp. xliii-xliv.

42. *whispers in your ear* This was probably suggested to Sh. by the S.D. in T.R. at l. 65, v. next note.



43. S.D. F. 'Enter a Sheriffe.' T.R. 'Enter the Shriue, & whispers the Earle of Salf in the eare.' Johnson proposed 'Enter the Sheriff of Northamptonshire, who whispers Essex.' Most mod. edd. follow F., but T.R. supplies the business necessary to make the entry explicable. Prob. the Sheriff should enter at l. 39 so that he and Essex can talk while K. John and Elinor whisper. As Essex is a mute character for the rest of the play, it seems strange at first sight that Sh. should give ll. 44-46 to him instead of to Salisbury who has the corresponding speech in T.R. But on closer inspection it becomes clear that the change really springs from the parent text; seeing that in T.R. Salisbury, who introduces the Sheriff, is then dispatched to make provision for the expedition to France, so that, Pembroke having already gone out with Chatillion, Essex is the only earl left to fetch in the Faulconbridge party. Thus, after the Sheriff has delivered a prose speech of some eight lines, with which Sh. dispenses, we have the following dialogue:

*John.* My Lord of Essex, will the offenders to stand foorth, and tell the cause of their quarrell.

*Essex.* Gentlemen, it is the Kings pleasure that you discover your griefes, and doubt not but you shall haue iustice.

Fleay (*Life and Work*, p. 197) points out that 'Essex has a part of only three lines, although in [T.R.] he appears in five scenes' and adds 'I think he was meant to be entirely cut out c. 1601 after Essex's execution, and these three lines should be given to Salisbury.' It is certainly remarkable, as F. G. Stokes (*Dict. of Characters*) notes, that Essex as a personal name occurs nowhere in the text of Sh. except here. But there was no necessity to transfer the lines to Salisbury inasmuch as the audience could not know the name of the 'lord' who speaks, since the word 'Essex' is not mentioned in the dialogue.

47. *Let them approach* T.R. i. i. 70 'Wil them come neere.'

48-49. *Our abbeyes...charge* This tallies with ll. 308-12 in T.R. The pillaging of the abbeyes plays a much larger part in T.R. than in *K. John*; cf. *Introd.* p. lvii. But Sh., as often, echoes the very words of T.R., cf. i. i. 308-9:

And toward the maine charges of my warres,  
Ile ceaze the lazie Abbey lubbers lands  
Into my hands to pay my men of warre.

49. *expedition's* (F 2) F. 'expeditious'

S.D. F. 'Enter Robert Faulconbridge, and Philip.' T.R. gives no entry; presumably they come in with the Sheriff. I conj. that Sh. intended them to do so also, but to stand at the entrance while the Sheriff went forward.

*what men are you?* Cf. T.R. i. i. 73 'Say Shrieue, what are these men.'

51. *Northamptonshire* T.R. makes Salisbury introduce 'the Shriue of Northamptonshire.'

54. *Cordelion* I follow Moore Smith in retaining the F. (and T.R.) form in preference to the 'Cœur-de-lion' of mod. edd.; it is the name by which Sh. himself no doubt spoke of Richard I.

*knighted in the field* Cf. T.R. i. i. 95 'Receiud his spurres of Knighthood in the Field.' T.R. is far more precise here than *K. John*; it gives the Knight's full title 'Sir Robert Fauconbridge of Mountbery' and locates the accolade at the siege of Acon (Acre).

57. *Is that...heir?* Cf. T.R. i. i. 117 'Thy brother and thine elder, and no heire.'

64-65. *thou dost shame...diffidence* The diffidence of Philip in T.R. i. i. 87-90, is of another order: 'Please it your Maiestie, the wrong is mine,' he says, 'yet wil I abide all wrongs, before I once open my mouth to vnrippe the shamefull flaunder of my parents...in this princely assembly.'

69. *five hundred pound* In T.R. the revenue is 'two thousand Markes' (a mark = 13s. 4d.).

71. *A good blunt fellow* Cf. T.R. 1. i. 154 'Thus bluntly' (spoken by Robert).

74. *once* v. G.

75. *Now* (Wright) F. 'But' Wright suggests that the printer repeated the 'But' from the previous line and is almost certainly correct.

*where* (Steevens) F. 'where' Most edd. follow F4 ('whether'). Cf. note 2. 1. 167 and MSH. ii, 232.

76. *upon my mother's head* = to my mother's account (Moore Smith).

79. *yourself*. (Rowe) F. 'your selfe'

79-83. *Compare our faces...to thee!* Cf. ll. 88, 92-94, 138-47. Cf. *Introd.* p. lii. The germ of all this in T.R. is found in the second half of the scene in which the B. compels his mother to admit his true paternity, and comparing himself with his brother asks which looks most like Sir Robert's son; note esp. ll. 359-64:

My brothers minde is base, and too too dull,  
To mount where Philip lodgeth his affects,  
And his externall graces that you view  
(Though I report it) counterpoise not mine:  
His constitution plaine debilitie,  
Requires the chayre, and mine the seate of Steele

81. *him*, (edd.) F. 'him:'

84. *madcap* In T.R. 1. ii. 70 Chatillion calls the B. a 'wilde head' (Liebermann, *Archiv*, cxlii, 180 n.).

85-88. *He hath a trick...this man?* In T.R. Robert Faulconbridge reveals the parentage of the Bastard; Sh. makes the mother of Cordelion recognise her son's features, a great improvement. The same tact makes him keep the B.'s mother off the stage until the revelation is over; cf. note 1. 219 S.D. For 'trick' v. G. and cf. 1 *Hen. IV*, 2. 4. 443-46, 'that thou art my son I have partly thy mother's word...but chiefly a villanous trick of thine eye.'

92. *half-face* = profile; cf. next note.

*father!* F. 'father?'

94. *half-faced groat* Cf. Munday, *Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington* 1601 (sig. I 3<sup>v</sup>): 'You halfe-fac't groat, you thick [? thin] cheekt chittiface' quoted by O.E.D. under 'Half-faced', which it explains as 'Presenting a half-face or profile. Of a coin: Having a profile stamped upon it; hence of persons, having a thin, pinched face. So *half-faced groat* applied contemptuously to a thin-faced man.' (Cf. 2 *Hen. IV*, 3. 2. 283 'This same half-faced fellow, Shadow' and note ll. 79-83.) Poss. 'groat' is a quibble upon 'growth'. The groat was a very thin silver piece as broad as the modern shilling (v. Sh.Eng. i, 342).

99-115. *And once...father's will* Sh. follows T.R. pretty closely here, but adds the point about the will. For 'embassy' v. G.

104-5. *speak, But...truth:* (edd.) F. 'speake: But truth is truth.'

110. *took it on his death* Cf. 1 *Hen. IV*, 5. 4. 154 'I'll take it upon my death I gave him this wound.' There is no reference to the 'death-bed' of l. 109.

113. *Full fourteen weeks...time* Cf. T.R. 'Sixe weekes before the account my Father made.' The change adds at once realism and refinement.

116-29. *Sirrah...father's land* In T.R. John repudiates the slur upon Richard's honour: Sh.'s John is again more realistic.

117. *bear him.* F. 'beare him:'

119. *lies on the hazards* = belongs to the chances. Cf. 5. 6. 7.

123-24. *kept...from his cow* Alluding to the proverb 'Who bulls the cow must keep the calf' (Tilley, p. 123).

127. *refuse* v. G. *concludes* = settles the matter, v. G.

134-62. *Whether...Plantagenet* T.R. has 120 ll.



for these 28; the altercation with Robert is continued; the mother and Philip are thrice asked who his father is; and at the third request Philip falls into a trance (of 27 ll.) wherein he reveals that he is Richard's son. T.R. (ll. 287-98), however, offered Sh. the following suggestion for his attractive dialogue between the B. and Elinor:

Q *Elinor*. Why how now Philip, giue away thine owne?

*Philip* Madame, I am bold to make my selfe your nephew,  
The poorest kinsman that your Highnes hath...

*Elinor* Philip, I think thou knewst thy Grandams minde:  
But cheere thee boy, I will not see thee want  
As long as Elinor hath foote of land;  
Henceforth thou shalt be taken for my sonne,  
And waite on me and on thine Vnckle heere,  
Who shall giue honour to thy noble minde.

137. *Lord of thy presence* Cf. 2. 1. 367 (note).

139. *Sir Robert's his* F. 'fir Roberts his' A reduplicated genitive (Schmidt), 'his' being often used for the possessive 's'; cf. *Ham.* 2. 2. 494 'Mars his Armours' (F 1).

142-43. *That in mine ear...three-farthings goes* At the time of Elizabeth, besides the shilling, sixpence, groat and threepenny-piece, 'there were also in circulation silver pieces of the value of twopence, three halfpence, a penny, three farthings, and a halfpenny. Confusion between coins of the same type so near in value was very easy, and a rose was accordingly placed behind the Queen's head on the sixpence, three-pence, three halfpence, and three farthings to distinguish them from the groat, the twopenny piece, the penny and the halfpenny. It is to the spare profile of Elizabeth on a coin of this type and also to the contemporary habit of wearing a rose behind the ear that we owe the lively figure' of this passage (G. Unwin in *Sh.Eng.* i, 342-43). Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Scornful Lady*, 3. 2. 127-30 (Variorum ed. i, 421). Robert,

who was formerly (l. 94) a 'groat', has cheapened to a three-farthing piece. Cf. G. 'three farthings.'

144. *to his shape* = in addition to inheriting his shape.

145. *Would...stir* Cf. *M.W.W.* 5. 5. 181.

146. *I would* Pope read 'I'd', which is attractive.

147. *I would* (F 2) F. 'It would'

*Sir Nob* Moore Smith explains 'a pet name for "Robert"...authenticated by the existence of the surnames "Nobbs", "Nobbes", which are both found in the British Museum Catalogue.' But Capell and other edd. are also right in seeing in it a cant word for 'head'; for, although Furness objects that O.E.D. gives no instance of this sense before 1700, it quotes Harman and Dekker for 'nab' (=head), which is good enough, and in particular cites the meaning 'head of a stick', which would be very appropriate here, since the actor playing Robert was clearly a tall thin man; cf. note ll. 79-83 and *Introd.* p. lii.

153. *for five pence...dear* Because a groat (cf. l. 94) was worth 4d.

156. *give...way* v. G. and MSH. p. 293.

159. *Wife's* (Rowe) F. 'Wiues.'

*eldest* Probably a monosyllable, as at 2. 1. 177; but the word 'wife's' is clearly intended to be uttered as a sort of comic aside.

168-75. *I am thy grandam...begot* The rhyme-scheme reminds us of similar passages in *L.L.L.* and *Rom.*, while 'the proverbial sayings...are characteristic of the B.'s rusticity of breeding' (Wright). For 'truth' v. G.

170. *Something about* i.e. by a rather roundabout road.

*a little from the right* Suggesting the 'bar sinister.'

171. *In at the...hatch* i.e. improper ways of entering a household uninvited. Steevens quotes Middleton, *Family of Love*, 4. 3. 113 'Woe worth the time that ever I gave suck to a child that came in at the

window' and Dekker, *Northward Hoe*, I. I. 'Kindred that comes in o'er the hatch.'

177. *A landless knight* i.e. Sir Richard Plantagenet (cf. l. 137).

180-81. *good fortune... honesty* Referring to the popular saying 'Bastards are born lucky' (Collier).

181. S.D. F. 'Exeunt all but bastard.'

182. *A foot of honour* etc. F. gives this a fresh heading 'Bast.' possibly because Sh. began a new page here in the MS. or possibly because the speech was added at the time of the second revision, cf. *Introd.* pp. xlviii-li. For 'foot' v. G. The soliloquy that follows springs, I think, from T.R. I. i. 290-92:

And with this Prouerb gin the world anew,  
Help hands, I haue no lands, honour is my desire;  
Let Philip liue to shew himselfe worthie so great a Sire.

But it reads almost like a parody of the trance-speech at ll. 241-68 of T.R. (cf. note above ll. 134-62).

183. *a many* Cf. 'a many thousand' (4. 2. 199). The 'a' indicates 'that the objects enumerated are regarded collectively as *one*. We still say "a score," "a fortnight"' (Abbott, § 87).

*foot of land* Cf. T.R. I. i. 291-92 'I will not see thee want/As long as Elinor hath foote of land.'

184. *any Joan*=any peasant-girl. Cf. *L.L.L.* 3. 1. 207 'Some men must love my lady, and some Joan,' and 5. 2. 930 'While greasy Joan doth keel the pot.'

185 sqq. *Good den, Sir Richard* etc. The countryman, newly dubbed knight, now anticipates his greatness in imagination. The speech may be compared with Malvolio's more famous soliloquy in *Tw. Nt.*

188. 'Tis *too* i.e. to remember men's names would be too etc.

*too respective* (F 2) F. 'two respectiue' v. G. 'respective.'

189. *Now your traveller* i.e. And then there's your



traveller. He goes on to picture himself entertaining such a traveller at dinner.

190. *toothpick* The recognised sign of a man infected with foreign travel. Cf. Overbury, *Characters*, 'his pick-tooth is a maine part of his behaviour' (An Affectate Traveller), and *Ado*, 2. 1. 247-49 'I will fetch you a toothpicker now from the furthest inch of Asia.' N.B. The English B. *sucks* his teeth (l. 192).

*my worship's mess* = my table.

193. *picked man* A quibble; v. G. and cf. *L.L.L.* 5. 1. 12-13 'too picked, too spruce, too affected'; but also, by this time, the toothpick has finished its work. 'My picked man of countries' = my travelled fop (Holt White). There is no need to place a comma after 'man' as many edd. do, taking 'of countries' with 'catechize.'

195. *question now*; F. 'question now,'

200. *ere...would* The question, beginning 'I shall beseech you—', is never put.

201. *dialogue of compliment* Sh. often makes jest of conversation lengthened out with compliment and never coming to a point; cf. the Osric episode in *Hamlet*, and *A.Y.L.* 2. 5. 26 'that they call compliment is like th' encounter of two dog-apes.' Cf. also Chapman, *Humorous Day's Mirth* (1597), sc. ii.

203. *Pyrenean* F. 'Perennean.'

204. *toward supper* i.e. the whole time between dinner and supper has been spent in this 'dialogue of compliment.'

205. *But this...society* He now pretends to pull himself up and pocket his scorn.

206. *the mounting spirit* Cf. T.R. 1. 1. 261-62 'this mounting minde/Doth soare too high to stoupe to Fauconbridge'

207-8. *a bastard to the time...observation* i.e. no true child of the age, who lacks a touch of obsequiousness. v. G. 'observation.'



208-9. *smack...smack* (Theobald) F. 'fmoake...fmacke'

210-11. *habit...accoutrement* He refers, I think, not to his rustic garments, but to the knightly 'accoutrement' he will wear, of which the 'device' with its bar sinister will be a prominent feature.

212. *inward motion*=inclination of mind or temper.

212-13. *to deliver...tooth* i.e. to mouth the sweet compliments and false flattery the age delights in. For 'sweet poison' cf. *A. & C.* 1. 5. 27, and Milton, *Comus*, 46-47:

Bacchus, that first from out the purple grape  
Crushed the sweet poison of misused wine;

while for 'tooth' (=appetite) cf. *Troil.* 4. 5. 293 'But still sweet love is food for fortune's tooth.'

214-16. *Which...my rising* He will study this sweet flattery, not in order to practise it himself, but that he may not be deceived by it; for it will come the way of the rising man, as plentifully as rushes are strewn upon the floor.

219. *blow a horn* 'He means, that a woman who travelled about like a "post" was likely to "horn" her husband' (Johnson); alluding, of course, to the cuckold's horn. The Elizabethan postal service, designed solely for the speedy dispatch of the Queen's business, consisted of relays of post-horses ready stationed at fixed stages on the main roads, by which means over 160 miles might at a pinch be covered in one day (v. Sh. Eng. i, p. 201). The horn, still used in 'coaching,' was required to warn pedestrians and vehicles to clear off the road, much as the bell of the fire-engine does to-day.

S.D. F. 'Enter Lady Faulconbridge and Iames Gurney' This James Gurney is the only character added by Sh. to the old play. An escort of some kind would be required by a lady travelling up from the

country, and Sh. gives him Christian and surname in order to afford occasion for the 'Philip Sparrow' jest; cf. note l. 231. Sh. follows T.R. in general, for the rest of the scene, but the incident is far more natural with him inasmuch as the compulsory confession of the mother reads oddly in T.R. after the discovery of Philip by the king, of which in that text she is a witness. At l. 230 F. spells James's name 'Gournie'.

220. *it is* (Pope) F. "'tis'

225. *Colbrand the giant* A giant fought by Guy of Warwick, in the popular legend. Another fling at Robert's figure. Cf. *Hen. VIII*, 5. 4. 22 'I am not Samson, nor Sir Guy, nor Colbrand.'

228. *Sir Robert's son*: F. 'Sir Roberts sonne?'

230. *give . . . leave* v. G.

231. *Philip Sparrow, James!* F. 'Philip, sparrow, Iames,' The B., in his grand new courtly manner, says 'James Gurney, wilt thou give us leave awhile?' (as a king might ask one to give him private audience with his queen-mother); Gurney replies offhand 'Good leave, good Philip,' without a surname; whereat the B., no longer entitled to use 'Faulconbridge', jocularly supplies another himself. The reference, as most have seen, is to Skelton's mock elegy, *Phylip Sparrow*, and its point, I take it, is that 'Philip' is no more. Herrick has a similar echo of Skelton in his elegy upon the Death of his Sparrow: 'Phill, the late dead, the late dead Deare.' We might paraphrase the B. thus: 'the *late* Philip, James!'

232. *There's toys abroad* i.e. 'there's a little game on foot' (Moore Smith) v. G. 'toy'. He refers, of course, to his recently acquired nobility.

S.D. F. 'Exit Iames.'

236. *marry, to confess* i.e. 'though I says it, as shouldn't.'

237. *Could he get me.* (Vaughan) F. 'Could get me' Most edd. print a colon after 'well' in l. 236, where

F. has a comma only, and follow Pope, who read 'Could he get me?' Vaughan's pointing gives better sense, and only taxes the F. with omitting, besides the 'he', a comma between 'me' and 'Sir.'

240. *holp to make* Cf. *Cor.* 5. 3. 63 'I holp to frame thee.'

244. *Knight... Basilisco-like* As Theobald showed, the allusion is to an episode in *Soliman and Perseda* (1. 3. 166-75), generally ascribed to Kyd, wherein Basilisco, the cowardly braggadocio knight, is compelled to take an oath by his servant Piston, after the following fashion:

*Pist.* I, the aforesaid Basilisco—

*Bas.* I, the aforesaid Basilisco—Knight, good fellow, Knight, Knight.

*Pist.* Knaue, good fellow, knaue, knaue.

The play, according to Boas (*Works of Kyd*, p. lvii), was written 'about 1588 or possibly a few years later,' at any rate before 1593, since it was entered in the *Stat. Reg.* on Nov. 22, 1592, though the earliest edition extant is dated 1599. Cf. *Introd.* p. lii.

256. *lay not... charge* R. Noble (p. 114) quotes *Acts* vii. 60 'lay not this sin to their charge.'

*thy charge* (Staunton) F. 'my charge' The F. reading blunts the point of the son's reply, and sense can only be extracted from it by emending the next line with F4. Moreover, it makes a strange prayer! Cf. note l. 261. The substitution of 'my' for 'thy' (esp. with 'my' earlier in the line) is a very natural misprint; cf. MSH. pp. 241-42.

257. *That art* Most edd. read 'Thou art' (F4); v. previous note. For 'dear' v. G.

258. *past my defence* i.e. 'beyond my powers of resistance' (Moore Smith).

259. *to get*=to be begotten; cf. Abbott, § 359. Moore Smith compares the mod. 'to let'=to be let.

261. *on earth* But not in heaven; cf. note l. 256.



265-67. *Against whose...Richard's hand*: These lines are clearly introduced to prepare the audience for the appearance of Austria in the next scene with his lion's skin. The legend, which neither Foxe nor Holinshed think worthy of mention, is told in the old metrical romance of *Richard Cœur de Lion*, and is given (with a woodcut of the scene) in Rastell's *Pastyme of People*, 1529, as well as by Fabyan and others (v. Ellis, *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, ii, 186-290). It was doubtless by this story that Richard was best known in popular imagination. The legend runs that Richard, imprisoned by the Duke of Austria, slew his son with a blow of his fist in a trial of strength between them. In revenge the Duke ordered a hungry lion to be placed in his cell, which Richard also slew by thrusting his hand down his throat and tearing out his heart. T.R., in the interests of dramatic economy, unhistorically combines the Duke of Austria with the Viscount of Limoges. Sh. follows suit, though making less of the motive. Cf. *Introd.* pp. xxxviii-xxxix and Frontispiece.

269. *Ay* F. 'Aye',  
 276. *lies*; F. 'lyes',  
 S.D. F. 'Exeunt.'

## 2. I.

F. heads this 'Scæna Secunda.' v. pp. 93-4.

Sh. follows T.R. closely both in material and arrangement throughout this long scene.

S.D. F. 'Enter before Angiers, Philip King of France, Lewis, Daulphin, Austria, Constance, Arthur.' T.R. 'Enter Philip the French King, and Lewes, Limoges, Constance, and her sonne Arthur.' For 'in a lion-skin' v. ll. 136, 139.

1. *Before Angiers* etc. F. gives this speech to 'Lewis' together with l. 18, and all edd. follow, except Dyce (ed. 2), Collier (ed. 3) and Cowden Clarke. Yet the



corresponding speech belongs to 'King' in T.R., while it would be very odd for the young Dauphin to greet Austria, and to tell Arthur 'At our importance hither is he come', with his father present all the while. Strangely enough no one except Fleay and Wright seems to have connected the problem with the palpable error at ll. 149, 150 (v. note). Cf. *Introd.* pp. xlv-xlv.

1-5. *brave Austria . . . brave duke . . . grave* Cf. T.R. 1. ii. 4 'Braue Austria, cause of Cordelions death.'

1. *Angiers* i.e. Angers. Sh. nowhere shows consciousness that 'Angiers' was the capital city of the Angevin empire; nor does T.R., though it might be implied in the opening lines of the scene:

Now gin we broach the title of thy claime  
Yong Arthur in the Albion Territories,  
Scaring proud Angiers with a puissant sledge

2. *forerunner of thy blood* Cf. 1. 6 'posterity' and 1. 13 'offspring,' and v. *Introd.* pp. xlii-xliii.

4. *fought . . . Palestine* Liebermann cites T.R. 1. i. 96-97:

At kingly Richards hands in Palestine  
When as the walls of Acon gaue him way.

5. *By this brave duke* Cf. note 1. i. 265-67.

19-20. *zealous . . . seal* I suspect a quibble here; cf. note 2. i. 477-79.

23-29. *that pale . . . corner of the west* Edd. compare *Rich. II*, 2. i. 40-63, and Gaunt's famous speech reads like a development of this. For 'coops' v. G. The corresponding passage in T.R. consists of a warning by Arthur that John is not to be despised, 'For questionles he is an Englishman,' together with contemptuous rejoinders by Lewis and Limoges.

32. *a widow's* Cf. 3. i. 14. Not historically correct. Constance was at this time married to a third husband. The mistake derives from T.R. 1. iv. 205.

36. *In such...war* Cf. T.R. 1. ii. 176 'in holy lawfull Armes.'

37. *Well then, to work;* (Theobald) F. 'Well, then to worke'

39. *discipline* v. G. and cf. Fluellen's 'disciplines of the wars' (*Hen. V*, 3. 2. 63).

40. *cull the plots*=select the spots (for the cannon). Cf. G. 'plot.'

41. *We'll lay...bones* Cf. T.R. 1. ii. 13 'Or made a forfeit of my fame to Chaunce.'

44-49. *Stay for an answer...shed* T.R. here gives Constance a five-line speech of similar purport.

49. *indirectly* v. G.

S.D. F. 'Enter Chattilion' T.R. has the same S.D.

53. *We coldly pause* i.e. in our assault upon Angiers (cf. ll. 44-49): for 'coldly' v. G.

56. *your just demands* Cf. T.R. 1. ii. 54 'the least of your demaunds'

57-59. *the adverse winds...as I* Cf. T.R. 1. ii. 50 'For one selfe bottome brought vs both to Fraunce,' and note 1. 1. 25.

60. *expedient* v. G.

62. *the mother-queen* Cf. T.R. 1. ii. 55 'The Mother Queene she taketh on a maine'

63. *Até* (Rowe) F. 'Ace'—*t: c* misreading. Cf. Spenser, *F.Q.* iv. 1. xix 'Mother of debate/And all dissention.'

64. *With her...Spain* Cf. T.R. 1. ii. 73 'And Blanch her Neece daughter to the King of Spaine.'

65. *With...deceased* Cf. T.R. 1. ii. 69:

Next them a Bastard of the Kings deceast.

It is noteworthy that both texts use the double genitive with the adjective following.

66-75. *And all th'unsettled...Christendom* Malone (Var. 1821, ii, 354) sees in this description an allusion to the preparations for the Cadiz expedition of 1596,

in which 'the regular land forces on board amounted to ten thousand; and there was also a large body of "voluntaries" as they were then called.' But the suggestion might equally well have come from the French campaigning of 1591 under Essex and Sir Roger Williams; cf. Cheyney, *Hist. of Eng.* 1588-1603, i, 243-76. T.R. gives simply 'With many other men of high resolute.' For 'spleens' (l. 68) v. G.

70. *Bearing...backs* Johnson aptly quotes *Hen. VIII*, i. i. 83-85.

73. *the English bottoms* Cf. T.R. i. ii. 50 (quoted note ll. 57-59 above).

75. S.D. F. 'Drum beats.'—at l. 77.

76. *Churlish drums* Cf. 3. i. 303 and *V.A.* 107.

79. *for is* F. 'for, is'

82. *with occasion* v. G.

83. S.D. F. 'Enter K. of England, Bastard, Queene, Blanch, Pembroke, and others.' T.R. 'Enter Iohn & his followers, Queene, Bastard, Earles, &c.'

85. *Our just and lineal entrance* Lineal=due by right of birth. Cf. *Introd.* p. xxv, 5. 7. 102, and T.R. i. i. 353 'my right, as lineall in discent.'

86. *heaven*, F. 'heauen.'

93. *This toil...thine* i.e. John ought to be helping to recover Angiers for Arthur instead of rebelling against him.

94-109. *But thou...o'ermasterest* The corresponding lines in T.R. (i. ii. 91-93) are given to Constance and run:

Arthur my Sonne, heire to thy elder Brother,  
Without ambiguous shadow of discent,  
Is Soueraigne to the substance thou withholdst.

95. *his*=its, i.e. England's. Cf. l. 202 'England, for itself.'

97. *infant state* i.e. 'the majesty of a boy-king' (Moore Smith).

101-3. *abstract...brief* Cf. *Ham.* 2. 2. 528 'the

abstracts and brief chronicles' and *Edw. III*, 2. 1. 82-83:

Whose bodie is an abstract or a breefe,  
 Containes ech generall vertue in the worlde.

105. *son*: F. 'sonne,'

106. *And this is Geffrey's* An old crux, which has given rise to many emendations, none of which has won acceptance. The simple explanation surely is that 'this' means the city of Angiers and that King Philip points to it as he speaks. Cf. 'this toil of ours' in l. 93.

109. *owe* v. G.

111. *from thy articles* i.e. according to your various charges. v. G. 'article.' John addresses Philip as if he were an attorney.

113. *breast* (F 2) F. 'beast'

119. *Excuse it is*, (P. Simpson) F. 'Excuse it is' Most edd. follow Malone 'Excuse; it is.' Simpson interprets 'It is sufficient excuse for my usurpation of authority that I am fighting against usurpation' (*Notes & Queries* ix, v, 164).

121 ff. *Let me make answer* etc. The scolding of Constance and Elinor has its parallel in T.R. but there are no mutual accusations of marital infidelity as in Sh., who borrows them from 1. i (cf. note l. 132 below).

123. *That thou...world!* Cf. T.R. 1. i. 55-56:

That will not sticke to bring him to his ende,  
 So she may bring her selfe to rule a Realme.

*check*=control, v. G.; but there may, as Staunton thought, be a glance at the game of chess.

124-25. *My bed...thy husband* It has been objected that Constance could not have intended to 'compare her own fidelity with that of the person whom she accuses of infidelity a moment later.' But she does not take so high a ground; what she says is: 'I'm every bit as true as you were, and my Arthur far less likely to be a bastard than your son John (although John is



as like you as the devil is to his dam) or for the matter of that than your son Geoffrey himself.'

127. *John in manners*; (Capell) F. 'Iohn, in manners'

132. *There's a good...thy father* Cf. T.R. 1. i. 352 'The sonne that blotteth you with wedlocks breach' (the B. speaking of Robert).

133. *There's...blot thee* F. divides 'There's...boy/That would blot thee'

134. *Hear the crier* A retort to 'Peace!' and 'alluding to the usual proclamation for silence, made by criers in courts of justice' (Malone). An altercation between Austria and the B. is likewise found in T.R.

136-39. *hide...skin-coat* Austria wears the lion skin of Richard as *spolia opima*. Cf. note 1. 1. 265-67 and T.R. 1. ii. 130 'Not you fir doughtie with your Lions cafe.'

137. *the proverb* i.e. *Mortuo leoni et lepores insultant* (Erasmus, *Adagia*). Cf. *Introd.* pp. liii-liv for the link here with *The Spanish Tragedy* 1. 2. 170.

139. *smoke your skin-coat* A popular expression meaning 'give you a good thrashing'; v. G. 'smoke' and cf. E.M.I. (1616) 4. 4. 20-26 'O, he has basted me, rarely...marry, it vanisht away, like the smoke of tabacco; but I was smok't soundly first.' There is perhaps a glance at the smoke caused by branding the skins of sheep or cattle. v. O.E.D. 'burn' Sb.<sup>3</sup> 2 b. ('skin and birn').

142. *disrobe the lion* Cf. T.R. 1. ii. 142 'Disrobe him of the matchles moniment' (Liebermann).

144. *shows* (Theobald) F. 'shooes' Most edd. follow Theobald, the allusion to the lion-skin of Hercules and the fable of the ass in the lion's skin being obvious. 'Shows' (which is here, of course, a verb) was a common sp. of 'shoes' in the 16th century (v. O.E.D.). Those who support the F. reading quote Gosson, *School of Abuse* (ed. Arber, p. 21): 'to draw

the lion's skin upon Æsop's asse, or Hercules' shoes on a child's feete.' Sh., however, is not speaking either of feet or children, but of backs and asses, while it would surely be remarkable if in all this talk about lion-skins there should be no allusion to that of Hercules.

149. *King Philip* (Theobald) F. 'King Lewis' Most edd. follow Theobald. Cf. *Introd.* p. xlv.

150. *Women and fools* etc. F. gives this speech to 'Lew.'; Theobald and most edd. give it to 'King Philip.' v. previous note.

152. *Anjou* (Theobald) F. 'Angiers' Another case of forgetfulness. The list is derived from T.R. i. i, and has already appeared at i. i. 11, where 'Anjou' is correctly given; but now that he is before Angiers, Sh. imagines Anjou and Angiers to be the same. The mistake recurs at l. 487.

156-58. *Arthur...France can win* This offer is made by Elinor in a message given to Chatillion in T.R. i. i. 57-59:

Next wish him to forsake the King of Fraunce,  
And come to me and to his Uncle here.  
And he shall want for nothing at our hands.

156. *Britain* F. 'Britaine' Hanmer and most edd. since read 'Bretagne'; but why alter what was clear to the Elizabethans and cannot now be confused?

160. *it grandam* etc. Baby talk. The word 'grandam' occurs in T.R. i. i and ii.

163-65. *Good my mother...made for me.* Moore Smith compares T.R. i. iv. 145-48:

Sweete Mother cease these hastie madding fits:  
For my sake, let my Grandame haue her will.  
O would she with her hands pull forth my heart,  
I could affoord it to appease these broyles.

The boy's character is the same in both plays.

167. *wher* (Hanmer) F. 'where.' Mod. edd. 'whether'. Cf. note i. i. 75.

169. *Draw* (Capell) F. 'Drawes' Cf. MSH. ii. 235-41.

175. *slanderer*; (edd.) F. 'slanderer,'

177. *eldest* Pronounced 'eld'st' as at 1. 1. 159 (v. note). Cf. *Introd.* p. xlii.

180. *The canon of the law* i.e. that the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the third and fourth generations (Ex. xx. 5).

183. *Bedlam* v. G.

184-90. *That he's not... a plague upon her!* A passage which has foiled all edd. The main clue (as Johnson saw) is 'sin-conceiving womb' (l. 182). Constance has already hinted above (ll. 124-31) that John is a bastard, and here makes the accusation more directly. This being so, 'her son and her' means John and her, while in l. 188 'her injury' (=her crime) and 'the beadle' also refer to John, who leads the army to chastise Arthur. It should be remembered too that 'plague' carries with it the sense of 'scourge,' and thus suggests the image of the beadle who whipped whores through the streets. There is no need to alter the F. punctuation as most edd. following Roby have done, reading 'her plague; her sin' at l. 187.

To paraphrase: My boy is not only punished for her sins, according to 'the canon of the law,' but God has employed her sin (John) and herself as the actual instruments of the punishment. He is punished for her sin and by her sin; he is injured by her wickedness, by the son of her 'sin-conceiving womb,' who comes here to whip him with the scourge which should fall upon her back. Thus all her sins are visited upon this child, and all for her sake.

184. *he's* (Johnson) F. 'he is' v. MSH. ii. 232-34.

192-4. *A will that bars... will!* Cf. T.R. 1. ii. 98-100:

(Q. *Elinor*) ... I can inferre a Will,  
That barres the way he vrgeth by discent.

*Constance.* A Will indeede, a crabbed Womans will.



196. *cry aim* v. G.  
 198. *trumpet* v. G.  
 200. S.D. F. 'Trumpet sounds./Enter a Citizen vpon the walles.' T.R. 'They summon the Towne, the Citizens appeare vpon the walls.'  
 203. *You men...subjects* Cf. T.R. 1. ii. 192 'You men of Angiers, and as I take it my loyall Subiects.' Sh. follows T.R. closely in this episode.  
 206. *For our advantage* John means, I take it, that his arrival was the occasion of the trumpet sounding.  
 207. *advanced* v. G.  
 209. *endamage*: (edd.) F. 'endamagement.'  
 214. *French*, F. 'French.'  
 215. *Confronts your* (Capell) F. 'Comfort yours'—probably due to miscorrection, e.g. of a misprint like 'Confrot.' Cf. MSH. i, 131–32. The misplaced 's' suggests tinkering by the corrector.  
*winking*, i.e. tight closed; the image begins with 'eyes' and is continued with 'sleeping.'  
 217. *that as a waist* Cf. 2. I. 26–27. *doth* sing. by attraction with 'waist'  
 221. *peace*. So F.  
 225–26. *cheeks,...parle*: F. 'cheekes:...parle,' Transposed printing.  
 229. *words folded up in smoke* Malone quotes *Lucr.* 1027 'This helpless smoke of words.'  
 230. *faithless error* 'The adj. "faithless" seems tautological' (Furness). I suspect corruption, and suggest 'faithless echo'; 'echo' (sp. 'ecco') might look like 'erro' and so be taken for 'error.'  
*ears*: F. 'eares,'  
 232. *in, your king*, (Capell) F. 'in. Your King,'  
 234. *Crave* (Pope) F. 'Craues'  
 235. *both*. So F.  
 236. *in this right hand* i.e. led by this right hand. Cf. *Cor.* 5. 3. 23–24 'and in her hand/The grandchild to her blood' and *Rich. III*, 4. 1. 2.



237. *upon the right* Cf. 1. 1. 34.

246. *provokes*. So F.

250. *hath* O.E.D. gives 'hath' as a regular plur. of 'have' in the 16th cent. Cf. 5. 2. 42.

251-52. *Our cannons' malice...heaven* Cf. T.R. 1. xiii. 60-62:

But yet as harmles and without effect,  
As is the eccho of a Cannons crack  
Dischargd against the battlements of heauen

(Liebermann), which is in turn prob. derived from 2 *Tamburlaine*, 2. 4. 104 'And with the cannon break the frame of heaven.'

252. *invulnerable* F. 'invulnerable'

258. *proffered offer* Walker, wishing to emend, calls this 'bad English' and 'cacophany.' Sh. writes in haste.

259. *roundure* (Capell) F. 'rounder' Cf. *Son.* 21. 8 'this huge rondure,' i.e. the firmament of heaven.

260. *messengers of war* i.e. bullets, etc.

261. *these English and their discipline* Hendiadys = the warlike English; cf. G. 'discipline.'

264. *which* = in which.

276. *and else* = 'and otherwise' (O.E.D.). The 'interpolation adds a touch of realism to the scene' (Moore Smith).

278. *bloods* v. G.

283-86. *Then God forgive* etc. Cf. *Hen. V*, 2. 4. 102-9.

287. *Chevaliers* Cf. T.R. 1. iv. 24 'the Cheualiers of Fraunce' (Liebermann).

288-89. *Saint George...door* (arr. by Pope) F. 'Saint George...Dragon,/And ere...dore' The first line was too long for the F. column, and the previous line left no room to overrun above.

289. *on his* (Pope) F. 'on's' The abbreviation is almost certainly due to the extra long line (v. previous

note), which the compositor could only just crowd into the available space.

290. *fence*=swordsmanship.

292-93. *an oxhead...monster* The usual cuckoldy jest; cf. *Ham.* 3. 1. 141-2 'wise men know well enough what monsters you make of them.'

292. *hide*, (edd.) F. 'hide:'

299. S.D. F. 'Exeunt/Heere after excursions, Enter the Herald of France with Trumpets to the gates.' T.R. here reads 'Excursions. The Bastard chafeth Lymoges the Austrich Duke, and maketh him leaue the Lyons skinne'; gives the Bastard an exultant speech of 13 lines; and then prints 'Enter the Kings Herolds with Trumpets to the wals of Angiers: they summon the Towne.' N.B. 'trumpet'=trumpeter.

300-11. *You men of Angiers* etc. 'This speech is very poetical and smooth, and, except the conceit of the "widow's husband" embracing "the earth," is just and beautiful' (Dr Johnson). 'It is one of the bewilderments of criticism that an instructed reader should profess to find the true Shakespearian ring in such forcible-feeble declamations' (J. M. Robertson, *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, 1909, p. 261).

306. *earth* (F 2) F. 'earrh'

308. *dancing banners* Cf. 5. 1. 72 (note).

311. S.D. F. 'Enter English Herald with Trumpet.'

315-16. *silver-bright...all gilt* Cf. *Macb.* 2. 3. 118 'His silver skin laced with his golden blood' and *ibid.* 2. 2. 56-57 'I'll gild the faces of the grooms withal,/For it must seem their guilt.'

318. *France*: F. 'France.'

321-23. *huntsmen...purpled hands Dyed* Cf. *J. Caes.* 3. 1. 205-6 'here thy hunters stand,/Signed in thy spoil and crimsoned in thy lethe.'

324. *give the victors way* v. G. 'give way.' Cf. T.R. 1. 1. 97 'When as the walls of Acon gaue him way' and 1. iv. 75 'Doo this, the gates of Angiers shall giue way.'

325. *Heralds, from off* etc. F. heads this 'Hubert.' and the rest of the Citizen's speeches in the scene 'Hub.' At this point, I think, Sh. made up his mind that Hubert de Burgh, under whose charge he left Arthur in France, was the chief citizen of Angiers (as his name 'de Burgh' suggests), v. *Introd.* pp. xlv-xlvi. The two characters are distinct in T.R.

*from off... behold* Cf. T.R. 1. iv. 23 'they saw from out their highest Towers.'

326. *retire* (edd.) F. 'retyre:'

327. *your* (F 2) F 'yonr'

328. *censured*=estimated. Cf. *Ham.* 3. 2. 85 'In censure of his seeming.'

332. *greatest: while* (edd.) F. 'greatest. While'

333. S.D. F. 'Enter the two Kings with their powers,/at feuerall doores.' T.R. 'Enter the Kings, Queene Elianor, Blaunch, Bastard, Lymoges, Lewes, Castilean, Pembroke, Salisbury, Constance, and Arthur Duke of Britaine.' For 'Castilean' v. note 1. 1. 1 S.D.

335. *run* (F 2) F. 'rome' As Dyce notes, 'ronne' has been misread 'rome' Cf. *Ham.* 1. 3. 109, where F. prints 'roaming' for 'running', v. MSH. ii, 315. To those who support F. 'rome' Aldis Wright replies: 'An overflowing river which has broken its banks can hardly be said to "roam."' For the whole passage cf. *Two Gent.* 2. 7. 25-32. The image recurs below in 5. 4. 53-57, where 'run on' is once again found.

339. *water* F. 'Water,'

343. *more. And* So F.

343-44. *by this hand... climate overlooks* Furness writes: 'That is, Arthur's hand, which the King here holds aloft; that he does not swear by his own hand is shown by the next line.' I do not agree: the King of France is speaking, and the 'climate' (v. G.) is that of France.

347. *a royal number*= 'a royal item in the list (of dead)' (Moore Smith).

*dead*, F. 'dead:'

349. *With slaughter...kings* i.e. with my name. One of the many lines of the play which exhibit Sh.'s mind working at great haste.

350. *towers* A hawking term. Cf. G. and 5. 2. 149:

And like an eagle o'er his aery towers.

355. *In undetermined...kings* i.e. making no difference between the flesh of kings and that of common men.

357. Cry '*havoc!*' Cf. *J. Caes.* 3. 1. 273, and v. G. '*havoc*'

358. *equal potents* i.e. of equal power. Perhaps Sh. wrote '*equal potent*'; potent is always an adj. elsewhere in the plays.

*fiery-kindled* (Pope) F. '*fierie kindled*'

359. *confusion of one part* i.e. the defeat of one side.

361. *Yet* i.e. 'as yet, in the present state of affairs' (Wright)

362. *England*; F. '*England*,'

*who's* (F 2) F. '*whose*'

365. *us* F. '*Vs*'—the capital denotes emphasis, cf. l. 368.

367. *Lord of our presence* This, taken with the preceding line, seems to imply feudal supremacy, the attribute of royalty. Cf. 1. 1. 137, where it clearly points to royalty and to the fact that the B. is no one else's '*man*.' O.E.D. gives no help.

368. *A greater power* etc. F. heads the speech '*Fra.*' Rowe first transferred it to 1 Citizen, and all edd. have agreed. There is, however, something to be said for giving l. 368 to '*Fra.*' and supposing that 1 Citizen's speech begins at l. 369. This would make l. 368 a pious rebuke by France to John's self-sufficiency, and l. 369 sqq. an abrupt interruption on the part of 1 Citizen. If the whole belongs to 1 Citizen then '*power*' refers, not to God, but to the '*fears*' spoken of later.

*we* F. again prints with a capital letter; cf. note l. 365 above.



371. *King'd* (Tyrwhitt) F. 'Kings' Most mod. edd. accept the emendation. Furness, following Staunton, would return to F. 'Kings', which he takes in apposition to 'strong-barred gates,' despite the F. colon after 'gates.' But 'King'd' is so necessary to what follows in l. 372 that it must be right. Cf. *Rich. II*, 5. 5. 36 'Then am I king'd again', and *Hen. V*, 2. 4. 26 (of England) 'she is so idly king'd.'

372. *purged and deposed* Possibly with a quibble on legal terminology.

373. *By heaven, these scroyles* etc. The B. in T.R. gives similar advice which likewise prompts the 1 Citizen to suggest the match between Blanch and the Dauphin.

376. *industrious* Gen. explained as 'clever, ingenious' (Onions) or 'zealous, studious' (Schmidt); cf. *Temp.* 4. 1. 33 'my industrious servant Ariel.' But I think, here, rather 'deliberate, of set purpose, real' as contrasted with the sham battles of the theatre; cf. *Wint.* 1. 2. 256-7 'if industriously/I played the fool, it was my negligence' and Lat. *de industria*. It is also possible to take it in the (to us) ordinary sense of 'busy' thus 'marking the contrast to the idle security of the citizens' (Wright).

*death.* So F.

377. *Your royal presences* Cf. note l. 367 above.

378. *like the mutines of Jerusalem* A reference to the civil war in Jerusalem at the time of the siege of Titus, in which the warring factions combined to resist the Roman attack (v. Josephus, *Jewish War*, v, 6, § 4). Josephus was not translated until 1602, but it has been suggested that Sh. derived his knowledge from the lost *Titus and Vespasian*, a 'ne' play entered in Henslowe's *Diary* under Ap. 1592 (v. Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, ii, 130, 193, 202). 'In itself this title, of course, suggests a play on the siege of Jerusalem, but Strange's men had already a *Jerusalem* in 1592' (Chambers, *Will. Shak.* i, 319), so that the reference may be to

this *Jerusalem*. Again, Miss Mary Dormer Harris, citing Sharp's *Coventry Mysteries*, pp. 37 sqq., points out that a play on *The Destruction of Jerusalem* by John Smith was being acted at Coventry, 16 miles from Stratford, in 1584 and again in 1591. (*Notes & Queries*, Aug. 8, 1931). Thus it is clear that the siege of Jerusalem was a well-known theatrical theme in the early nineties. Cf. notes 1. 1. 244; 2. 1. 137; and T.R. 1. xiii. 148-50:

Before the ruines of Ierufalem  
Such Meteors were the Ensignes of his wrath  
That hastned to destroy the faultfull Towne.

Perhaps these lines from T.R. are the germ of the present passage in Sh.

380. *town*: (Capell) F. 'Towne.'

381. *mount* (F 2) F. 'mount.'

381-87. *By east and west . . . air* Cf. T.R. 1. iv. 57  
'Pulling their battered walls about their eares.'

396. *the policy* i.e. the art of politics, v. O.E.D. 'the' 5. Moore Smith cites *Shrew*, 1. 1. 37 'the mathematics and the metaphysics.' The B., a little self-complacently, is showing off his newly acquired court-learning (cf. 1. 1. 205-16). Cf. T.R. 1. iv. 127 'We must with pollicie compound this strife' (Elinor).

398. *well*. So F.

402. *town*, F. 'Townc:'

406-7. *pell-mell . . . heaven or hell* Furness cites *Rich. III*, 5. 3. 312:

March on, join bravely, let us to't pell-mell;  
If not to heaven, then hand in hand to hell.

407. *Make work* Cf. *Cor.* 1. 8. 8-9:

Alone I fought in your Corioli walls  
And made what work I pleased.

411-12. *Our thunder . . . their* 'As if, instead of "Our thunder," Sh. had written "our cannon"' (Wright).

413. *O prudent discipline!* 'The Bastard forgets that he had just before proposed similar tactics' (at l. 381) (Wright). To which Moore Smith replies: 'But the two cases are not parallel, France and Austria being allies, and England and France enemies.' v. G. 'discipline.'

414. *mouth*. So F.

417. *peace...league* Cf. T.R. 1. iv. 73-74:

But vnto peace your forces should be knit  
To liue in Princely league and amitie.

420. *field*: F. 'field.'

422. *speak...hear* Cf. T.R. 1. iv. 65 'Speake on, we giue thee leaue.'

423-24. *That daughter...England* Cf. T.R. 1. iv. 83-84:

The beauteous daughter of the King of Spaine,  
Neece to K. Iohn, the louely Ladie Blanche.

424. *niece* (Collier) F. 'neere'—a *c : r* misreading of 'niece' (v. previous note).

425. *Dauphin* (Rowe) F. 'Dolphin' (and passim) I follow the editorial spelling with some hesitancy, inasmuch as the pun at 1 *Hen. VI*, 1. 4. 107 ('Pucelle or puzzel, dolphin or dogfish') shows that the 'l' was pronounced by Sh. and his company, as R. G. White notes.

*maid*: F. 'maid.'

428. *zealous love* i.e. holy love (as opposed to lust) v. G. 'zealous.'

431. *bound* Cf. l. 442 and G.

433. *complete*: F. 'compleat,'

434-36. *If not complete...not he*. The age of Sh. rejoiced in this kind of stilted word-play as the Victorians rejoiced in puns. The idea about which 1 Citizen curvets is that neither of the young people is perfect without the other, and that to say 'he' only falls below perfect through not being 'her' makes her perfection the greater.

434. *complete of* Generally recognised as corrupt. Hanmer conj. 'oh' for 'of' and most edd. accept this as prob., though few read it. I suggest 'all' for 'of,' which would be an easy misreading of 'al.' 'Complete all,' i.e. entirely complete, follows well upon 'every way complete.'

438. *such a she*; (Theobald) F. 'such as shee,' The change is a manifest improvement, while the substantival use of 'she' = woman is a favourite one with Sh., e.g. *Son.* 130. 14 'as any She belied with false compare.'

440. *him*. So F.

447-48. *match... powder* Johnson was 'loath to think' that a pun was intended here, but there can be little doubt about it.

448. *spleen* = sudden fit of passion, or outbreak of any kind. Here the primary sense is 'eagerness,' with a quibble upon that of a 'sudden flash' (cf. *M.N.D.* 1. 1. 146 'the lightning... That, in a spleen, unfolds both heaven and earth.'

455. *stay* Furness prints five pages of conjecture; but the text needs no change. 'Stay' lit. = set-back, check. The B. refers to the sudden check in a manage, which shakes the rider (Death) from his seat. O.E.D. ('stay' sb.<sup>3</sup> 3) quotes Florio, *World of Wordes*, 1598, 'staies, when a horse doth rest upon his hinder parts.' Cf. l. 416 above, 'vouchsafe awhile to stay.'

460. *As maids of thirteen... dogs* Very characteristic of the B., as it might also be of Hotspur in *Hen. IV.*

462. *bounce* v. G.

467. *Since first... dad* Cf. *M.W.W.* 5. 1. 23-24. 'An inimitable turn of a common saying to suit the B.'s own case' (Ivor John).

468. *Son, list* etc. F. heads this speech 'Old Qu.' Cf. *T.R.* 1. iv. 99 'Sonne Iohn, follow this motion' etc. *match*; F. 'match'

471. *thy now unsured assurance* = thy at present un-



secured title; v. G. 'assurance.' It is possible that Sh. wrote 'unsure.'

472. *yon green boy* etc. Cf. T.R. 1. iv. 90 'Who is but yong, and yet vnmeete to raigne' (Citizen) and 196 'Ah boy, thy yeares I see are farre too greene' (Constance).

473. *fruit*. So F.

476. *capable* v. G. and next note.

477-79. *Lest zeal . . . what it was* This metaphor has caused much trouble; partly because Hanmer led most edd. astray by deserting the F. punctuation and printing a comma after 'melted,' which makes Sh. say exactly the opposite of what he intended; and partly because one and all have failed to perceive the image in Sh.'s mind, which was not one of 'dissolving ice' (Malone) or of 'metal in a state of fusion' (Steevens), but of wax. Elinor is thinking of a treaty or marriage contract, and says 'Seal, while the wax is soft!' The image, as often happens with Sh., is seen in germ in what goes before; the 'yielding' leading on to 'capable,' by which Sh. almost invariably denotes, not 'containing' or 'able to contain,' but 'ready to receive impressions,' 'plastic.' Cf. *Temp.* 1. 2. 353-54:

Which any print of goodness will not take  
Being capable of all ill;

*A.Y.L.* 3. 5. 23, and *Ham.* 3. 2. 11. It is accompanied, too, with the inevitable quibble (zeal—seal), cf. note 2. 1. 19-20. To paraphrase: Lest Philip's sense of duty (towards Arthur), now yielding as wax after the melting appeal of 1 Citizen, harden against you as before. For 'zeal' cf. below ll. 564-65 and G. 'zealous.'

485. *In this book . . . 'I love'* Cf. *Rom.* 1. 3. 81-92. *love*, F. 'loue:'

487. *Anjou* (Theobald) F. 'Angiers' Cf. note 1. 152 above.

489. *Except . . . besieged* This shows that Sh. dis-

tinguished between Angiers, the city, and 'Angiers,' the territory.

493. *As* = 'in proportion as' (Wright).

494. *Holds hand with* v. G.

496-503. *I do...her eye* For this T.R. has at 1. iv. 107-9:

Byr Ladie Citizens, I like your choyce,  
A louely Damsell is the Ladie Blanche,  
Worthie the heire of Europe for her pheere.

498. *shadow* v. G.

500. *sun* (Rowe) F. 'sonne'

503. *table* v. G. Cf. *Son.* 24, 2.

S.D. F. 'Whispers with Blanch.'

504-9. *Drawn in...a lout as he* The stanza-form marks the lines as mock heroic. Sh. does not explain the B.'s annoyance with the Dauphin. We only understand it when we turn to T.R. (1. iv. 121-25) and find there that the B. was himself a suitor for the hand of Blanch (cf. *Introd.* p. xxi). For a possible explanation of Sh.'s dropping this motive v. note l. 560 S.D. below.

507. *traitor. This...now*, F. 'traytor, this...now;'

512-13. *That anything...to my will* i.e. whatever he sees in you to take his fancy I can find an interpreter in my heart which will translate it into my own terms. The 'it' is pleonastic. Blanch is speaking, of course, playfully.

515. *easily* (F 3) F. 'easslie'

*love.* So F.

522-23. *still...still* = ever (as always in Sh).

527-28. *Then I do give...these five provinces* Cf. T.R. 1. iv. 158-59:

*Philip* Then I demaund Volqueffon, Torain, Main,  
Poitiers and Aniou, these five Prouinces.

In T.R. the B. gasps, and John boggles a little, at 'five provinces', which Richard had won 'With much

effusion of our English bloud'; but Elinor persuades him.

530. *Full thirty...coin* Cf. T.R. 1. iv. 172:

And thirtie thousand markes of stipend coyne.

*thirty thousand marks* i.e. about £20,000 (Furness).

532. *daughter* (F 2) F. 'daughtet'

533. *well; young princes, close* (Rowe) F. 'well young Princes: close'

534. *lips too* A kiss was 'a regular part of the ceremony of troth-plighting' (Malone). Cf. *Tw. Nt.* 5. 1. 155-58:

A contract of eternal bond of love,  
Confirmed by mutual joinder of your hands,  
Attested by the holy close of lips,  
Strengthened by interchangement of your rings.

536. *Angiers* (F 2) F. 'Angires'

538-39. *For at Saint...solemnized* Cf. T.R. 1. iv. 187-89:

Lets in and there prepare the mariage rytes,  
Which in S. Maries Chappell presently  
Shalbe performed ere this Prefence part.

538. *presently* v. G.

539. *rites* (F 4) F. 'rights'

*solemnized.* So F.

542. *Her presence...much* In T.R. she is present and her interruptions are many.

*much:* F. 'much.'

544. *sad and passionate* Cf. *Arden of Feversham*, 3. 5. 45 'How now Ales? sad and passionat?' and G. 'passionate.'

551-53. *For we'll create...lord of* Cf. T.R. 1. iv. 181-83:

Yet here I giue thee Brittain for thine owne,  
Together with the Earledome of Richmond,  
And this rich Citie of Angiers withall.

Note the echo in 'rich.'

555. *solemnity* v. G.

560. S.D. F. 'Exeunt' The absence of 'manet Bastard' suggests that the B.'s speech may have been an afterthought. T.R. contains nothing corresponding to it, and reads 'Exeunt./Manent Constance & Arthur.' Sh. (v. ll. 540-43) keeps her off the stage while France and England come to terms, and shows her in the next scene (3. 1.) having just heard the fatal news from the 'messenger' (2. 1. 554-55) sent to 'bid her' to the marriage, who turns out to be Salisbury. But though there is no B.'s speech in T.R. three lines which that text (1. iv. 111-13) gives to Constance, viz.:

Why how now Lords? accursed Citizens  
To fill and tickle their ambitious eares,  
With hope of gaine, that springs from Arthurs losse,

evidently offered Sh. a hint which he expanded into 37 lines on 'tickling Commodity.' Had Sh. retained the promise to the B. of Blanch's hand (cf. note ll. 504-9 above), there would have been a personal motive behind this soliloquy which would have cheapened it altogether.

561-98. *Mad world...worship thee* The rhythm and style of this speech closely correspond with those of Berowne's speech on Love at the end of act 3 in *L.L.L.* 'Commodity' may be translated 'expediency' 'gain' or 'self-interest.' For the topical significance of the speech v. *Introd.* p. lvi.

565. *zeal* v. G.

567. *With*=By Cf. 'attended with' (3. 3. 35).

568. *That broker...faith* i.e. that bawd that ever murders good faith. Note the quibble in 'broker...breaks.'

569. *wins of* i.e. gets the better of (by cheating, cf. l. 572).

571-72. *Who...cheats* 'Who' refers to 'maids,' and the subject of 'cheats' is 'commodity.'

572. *that*, F. 'that.'



573. *tickling*=flattering. Cf. note l. 560 S.D. and G.

574. *Commodity...world* Mr Percy Simpson draws my attention to Bacon's Essay 'Of Wisdom for a Man's self' which contains a reference to bad servants who 'set a bias upon the bowl of their own petty ends and envies to the overthrow of their masters' great and important affairs.' For 'bias' v. G.

576. *ground*, F. 'ground;'

579. *indifferency* v. G.

580. *intent*: F. 'intent.'

583. *Clapped...eye* France is now the bowl, 'drawn' aside by the bias, and 'eye' is used in the double sense of (i) eyeball (the bias obstructs his vision), and (ii) the hole in the bowl in which the lead for the bias was inserted (Staunton). 'Clapped in'=stuck in; 'outward eye'=the worldly or physical eye, as distinct from the 'inward eye' of conscience which had brought him into the war 'as God's own soldier.'

584. *from his...aid* i.e. 'from giving the assistance to Arthur on which he had resolved' (Moore Smith).

588. *for because*=because; 'a reduplication like "an if," "or ere"' (Wright).

590. *angels* v. G.

591. *unattempted*=untempted.

592. *rich*: F. 'rich.'

598. *Gain, be my lord* The B. is a kind of obverse to Richard III; Richard is always telling us he is determined to prove a villain and proves one; Faulconbridge is always proposing to follow the way of the world and fights for a losing cause. The soliloquy is a prelude to what follows; Commodity is overthrown by Pandulph.

S.D. F. 'Exit.'

## 3. I.

F. heads this 'Actus Secundus,' which is absurd. Cf. *Introd.* pp. xlviii–xlix. Theobald first described the scene as act III, scene i. The corresponding scene in T.R. (1. iv. 190–234) consists of a dialogue between Constance and Arthur (cf. note 2. 2. 560 S.D.) in which the Queen enlarges upon the treachery of the match between Lewis and Blanch.

S.D. F. 'Enter Constance, Arthur, and Salisbury.'

5. *again*. So F.

6. *so*. So F.

10. *contrary*. So F.

14. *a widow, husbandless* Cf. note 2. 1. 32.

16–17. *jest, With...spirits I* (Rowe) F. 'iest With...spirits, I'

17. *take a truce* = make peace. Cf. *V.A.* 82 'Till he take truce with her contending tears,' *Troil.* 2. 2. 75, and *Rom.* 3. 1. 162.

22. *lamentable rheum* = sad tears.

23. *a proud river...bounds* A favourite image with Sh.; 'peering' = 'looking', not 'appearing.' Cf. 5. 4. 53–57 and *Ham.* 4. 5. 99 'The ocean, overpeering of his list,' *M.N.D.* 2. 1. 90–92, and G. 'peer.'

27. *them* i.e. the French King and his advisers.

33. *Which* The antecedent is 'men.' Cf. 4. 1. 4.

42. *I do...content* Cf. note 2. 1. 163–65.

43–51. *If thou...But thou art fair* Cf. T.R. 1. iv. 232 'louely boy.'

44–45. *sland'rous...sightless* v. G., and cf. *Rich. III*, 1. 2. 21–22.

45. *blots* Cf. *M.N.D.* 5. 1. 407–08.

50. *crown*. So F.

52. *Nature and Fortune* One of many passages in Sh. which make distinction of the gifts of these two. Cf. *A.Y.L.* 1. 2. 29–52 for a discussion of the matter in which Rosalind's words, 'Fortune reigns in gifts of the

world, not in the lineaments of Nature,' sum up the generally accepted notion. v. E. E. Kellett, *Suggestions*, pp. 20-27.

*great.* So F.

54. *rose.* So F.

55. *thee;* F. 'thee,'

59. *theirs.* So F.

63. *Envenom him*=vituperate him.

69. *For grief... stoop* Many consider this corrupt and either adopt Hanmer's emendation of 'stout' for 'stoop,' or suggest changes in other words. Malone's defence of the original appears to me unanswerable:

Our author has rendered this passage obscure by indulging himself in one of those conceits in which he too much delights, and by bounding rapidly, with his usual licence, from one idea to another.... The confusion arises from the poet's having personified grief in the first part of the passage, and supposing the afflicted person to be *bowed* to the earth by that pride or haughtiness which Grief, which he personifies, is said to possess; and by making the afflicted person, in the latter part of the passage, actuated by this very pride, and exacting the same kind of obeisance from others that Grief has exacted from her.

I would only add that, if Sh. thought of Constance's grief as a crown too heavy for her to 'under-bear' save in a sitting position, his 'bound' was not so 'rapid' or his 'licence' so great as Malone supposed.

Wright quotes *Prov.* xii. 25 (A.V.) 'Heaviness in the heart of man maketh it stoop' as a parallel, but notes that *King John* was written long before the pub. of A.V. and that the earlier English versions are without the expression 'maketh it stoop.'

70. *state* v. G.

74. *Here is my throne* I suggest that in Sh.'s theatre Constance took her seat, not upon the bare stage, but on a 'property' bank, such as that used in *M.N.D.* and in the Gonzago-play in *Ham.*, which may well have

been brought on to the inner stage while the B. spoke his soliloquy at the end of act 2. Such a raised position would not only give dignity to her words and action here, but add greatly to the force of what she has to say to the kings when they come in immediately after. It is surely absurd that when they enter they should *look down* upon her, and that she, who has proudly bidden them bow to her, should be forced to rise in order to speak with them. I imagine her seated well above them in a central position at the back of the stage. It is only at l. 309 that she rises in order to kneel to the Dauphin.

S.D. F. 'Actus Tertius, Scæna prima./Enter King Iohn, France, Dolphin, Blanch, Elianor, Philip, Austria, Constance.' T.R. 'Enter the King of England, the King of Fraunce, Arthur, Bastard, Lewes, Lymoges, Constance, Blanche, Chattilion, Pembroke, Salisburie, and Elianor.' Cf. *Introd.* pp. xlviii-xlix.

75-82. *this blessed day...this day...this day* etc. Cf. T.R. I. v. 1 'This is the day, the long desired day.'

77-78. *To solemnize...in his course* Cf. *Josh.* x. 12-14: 'So the sun abode in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down by the space of a whole day. And there was no day like that before it, or after it' (R. Noble).

78-80. *plays the alchemist...gold* Cf. *Son.* 33. 1-4:

Full many a glorious morning have I seen  
Flatter the mountain-tops with sovereign eye,  
Kissing with golden face the meadows green,  
Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy.

85. *in golden letters* We should now say 'in red letters.' Cf. *L.L.L.* 5. 2. 44 'My red dominical, my golden letter.'

86. *the high tides*=the great festivals, cf. G. 'tide.'

87. *turn...the week* R. Noble quotes *Job* iii. 6: 'let it not be joined unto the days of the year, nor counted in the number of the months.'



88. *perjury*. So F.

89-90. *let wives...this day* Cf. *Matth.* xxiv. 19.

91. *prodigiously be crossed* i.e. be disappointed by the birth of some monster. Cf. l. 46 above.

92. *But on this day* (Rowe, ii) F. 'But (on this day)' The meaning is 'except on this day,' which the F. brackets obscure.

93. *No bargains...made* 'In the ancient almanacs...the days supposed to be favourable or unfavourable to bargains are distinguished among a number of other particulars of the like importance' (Steevens).

99-100. *counterfeit...touched and tried* Cf. *Tim.* 3. 3. 6 and *Rich. III*, 4. 2. 8-9:

Now do I play the touch  
To try if thou be current gold indeed.

Gold was tested by being rubbed on a touchstone. 'A touchstone was generally made of black jasper and the trained eye could tell the fineness of the gold rubbed on it by the character of the streak left' (Ivor John). 'Counterfeit' is used in a quibbling sense.

101. *forsworn, forsworn* Repetition is almost as characteristic of Constance as of Hamlet. Cf. ll. 107, 113 and MSH. i, 79-80.

102-3. *in arms...in arms* i.e. armed...in one another's arms. A quibble.

103. *yours*. So F.

105. *cold* This has puzzled most. Hanmer read 'cool'd,' Capell 'clad,' and other emendations have been suggested. But 'cold' = cold in death (cf. *Meas.* 3. 1. 118 'cold obstruction'), i.e. dead, not on the battle-field, but in the stillness of peace, and that a fictitious ('painted') peace.

107-111. *Arm, arm...perjured kings* Cf. T.R. i. iv. 205-10 quoted in *Introd.* p. xxiv.

108. *cries*; F. 'cries,'

110. *day* (Theobald) F. 'daies'

114. *O Lymoges! O Austria!* Cf. *Introd.* p. xxxviii.

115. *that bloody spoil* i.e. Cordelion's lion skin.

119. *humorous* v. G.

121. *sooth'st up greatness* i.e. flatterest great ones. Cf. 1. 1. 213 'Sweet, sweet, sweet poison for the age's tooth.'

*greatness.* So F.

122. *A ramping fool* In sarcastic allusion to the lion skin that clothes the ass.

129. *a calf's-skin* 'When fools were kept for diversion in great families, they were distinguished by a calf's-skin coat, which has the buttons down the back' (Sir John Hawkins). 'Austria had more of the calf than the lion in him' (Wright).

131-34. *And hang...forget thyself* This is Sh.'s substitute for a long passage in T.R. (1. v. 8-60) in which the B. claims a combat with Austria for revenge of his father's death and, when Austria refuses to fight with his inferior in rank, is created Duke of Normandy by John out of hand, whereupon Austria hastily takes his departure.

134. S.D. F. 'Enter Pandulph.' T.R. 'Enter a Cardynall from Rome.'

137-46. *To thee, King John...demand of thee.* Sh. follows T.R. (1. v. 65-72) closely here:

Know Iohn, that I Pandulph Cardinall of Millaine, and Legate from the Sea of Rome, demaund of thee in the name of our holy Father the Pope Innocent, why thou dost (contrarie to the lawes of our holy mother the Church, and our holye father the Pope) disturbe the quiet of the Church, and difanull the election of Stephen Langton, whom his Holines hath elected Archbishop of Canterburie: this in his Holines name I demaund of thee.

143. *Stephen Langton* The only mention of him in the play.

*archbishop* (F 3) F. 'Arshbishop'

144. *see* (F 4) F. 'Sea'

147-71. *What earthly...my foes* That John is intended to express the Protestant standpoint of Elizabethan England is clear (cf. the difference in tone of Lewis's speech to Pandulph, 5. 2. 78 sqq., indignant but not subversive); but it does not follow that Sh. was himself an ardent anti-Catholic, as many conclude. Cf. *Introd.* pp. lvii-lviii.

147-48. *What earthly...king?* i.e. 'What earthly power can oblige a king to answer to interrogatories?' (Moore Smith).

147. *earthly* (Pope). The transcriber or compositor omitted an 'l.' John's point is, not that the name of Pope is grossly material (cf. *Temp.* 1. 2. 273), but that it is after all merely that of an earthly potentate. Wright notes that *Rich. II*, 1. 3. 69 (Q1) reads 'earthly' where F1 prints 'earthy.' Cf. note 3. 4. 110 for other omitted letters.

148. *task* (Theobald) F. 'tast' Perhaps a *t : k* misreading; cf. MSH. i, 111.

152-60. *Tell him...authority* Sh. again follows T.R. (1. v. 76-82) closely here:

Tell thy Maister so from me, and say, Iohn of England said it, that neuer an Italian Priest of them all, shall either haue tythe, tole, or poling penie out of England, but as I am King, so wil I raigne next vnder God, supream head both ouer spirituall and temporall: and hee that contradicts me in this, Ile make him hoppe headlesse.

155. *under heaven* Perhaps Sh. wrote 'under God,' and 'heaven' was substituted in obedience to the Act of 1606 (cf. MSH. i, 82-85). Without 'God' the 'him' in l. 156 is obscure; and the capital H of modern edd. gives no help on the stage. Cf. 'vnder God, supream head' quoted from T.R. in previous note.

161. *Brother...this* Cf. T.R. 1. v. 83-84 'What King Iohn, know you what you say, thus to blaspheme against our holy father the Pope.'

162-71. *Though you...my foes* The corresponding



speech in T.R. runs: 'Philip, though thou and all the Princes of Christendome suffer themselues to be abusde by a Prelates flauerie, my minde is not of such base temper. If the Pope will bee King in England, let him winne it with the sword, I know no other title he can alleage to mine inheritance.'

164-67. *Dreading the curse . . . himself* A reference to the sale of indulgences (not found in T.R.).

167. *from himself* i.e. not from God. Some take it as 'sells away his own pardon.'

173-79. *Thou shalt stand . . . hateful life* A reference to the Bull *Regnans in excelsis*, issued by Pius V in 1570, excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth, and absolving her subjects from their oaths of allegiance. Once again Sh. follows T.R. (1. v. 92-99):

Then I Pandulph of Padoa Legate from the Apostolick Sea, doo in the name of S. Peter and his successor our holy Father Pope Innocent, pronounce thee accursed discharging euery of thy subiectes of all dutie and fealtie that they doo owe to thee, and pardon and forgiuenes of sinne to those or them whatfoeuer, which shall carrie armes against thee, or murder thee: this I pronounce, and charge all good men to abhorre thee as an excommunicate person.

176-77. *meritorious . . . Canonizéd . . . as a saint* Liebermann notes that this echoes the lines of the poisoner in T.R. II. vi. 94-95:

Now if that thou wilt looke to merit heauen,  
And be canonizd for a holy Saint.

Cf. also II. vi. 140 'For why the deede is meritorious.'

*Canonizéd* Accented in the second syllable; cf. below 3. 4. 52 and *Ham.* 1. 4. 47 'thy canonized bones.'

180. *room with Rome* The same play upon words occurs in *J. Caes.* 1. 2. 156 'Now it is Rome indeed and room enough'; Sh. rhymes 'Rome' with 'doom'



and 'groom' in *Lucrece* (715, 1644), and there is a quibble on it with 'roam' in 1 *Hen. VI*, 3. 1. 51. There were apparently two pronunciations of 'Rome' current at the time (Moore Smith, citing Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, pp. 98, 925). But, as Viëtor remarks (*Shak. Phonology*, p. 74), the similarity of forms [ru:m] [ro:m] would be sufficient to serve the purpose of a pun.

181-82. *cry...curses* R. Noble sees in this a reference to the responses in the Communion Service.

182-83. *without...right* i.e. 'he cannot be cursed to the full unless his wrong towards me is remembered' (Moore Smith).

185. *too. When...right*, Rowe 'too; when... right' F. 'too, when...right.'

186. *bar no wrong* i.e. forbid not my curses.

191-300. *Philip of France...Father, to arms!* For this there are but 14 ll. in T.R. in which Pandulph bids France make war upon John, and acquits him of his oath of league with him 'as unlawful,' to all which the French king meekly consents. Cf. note l. 203 below. v. G. 'head'.

193. *upon his head* After head in l. 192, it is clear that K. John's head is meant; but there is a quibble also. v. G. 'head'.

196. *devil* i.e. Elinor, who is represented as eager for the perdition of Philip's soul.

201. *Because*—F. 'Because,'

*Your breeches...them* Steevens writes: 'Perhaps there is something proverbial in this sarcasm.' I think the meaning is, 'The best punishment for you would be a sound thrashing.' Cf. *M.W.W.* 4. 1. 69-70 'if you forget your qui's, your quae's, and your quod's, you must be preeches.'

202. *Philip...cardinal* Cf. T.R. 1. v. 110 'Brother of Fraunce, what say you to the Cardinall?' The germ

of the long speeches that follow in Sh. is this brief dialogue in T.R. (1. v. 111-117):

*Philip.* I say, I am sorrie for your Maiestie, requesting you to submit your selfe to the Church of Rome.

*John.* And what say you to our league, if I doo not submit?

*Philip.* What should I say? I must obey the Pope.

*John.* Obey the Pope, and breake your oath to God?

*Philip.* The Legate hath absolude me of mine oath: Then yeeld to Rome, or I defie thee heere.

It is one of the most interesting transformations in the whole text; cf. *Introd.* p. xlviii.

203. *but as the cardinal*=except what the cardinal has already said.

204. *father*; F. 'father,'

209. *untrimméd* Furness prints nine pages of emendations and suggestions. Onions (agreeing with Staunton and Wright) explains: 'with her hair hanging loose, after the fashion of brides,' and quotes Rider's *Bibliotheca Scholastica, a double Dictionarie*, 1589. Cf. also Sh.Eng. ii, 146, *The White Devil*, 4. 1. 2 'loose as a bride's haire' (v. F. L. Lucas, *Works of John Webster*, i, 237), and *Tancred and Gismund*:

So let thy tresses flaring in the winde

Vntrimmed hang about thy bared necke

(Malone Soc. reprint, ll. 1667-68). In the last instance the 'untrimmed tresses' denote 'mournfull widowhood'; cf. below, 3. 4. 61.

210-11. *speaks not...need* i.e. says not what she thinks but what suits her purpose.

211-16. O, *if thou...trodden down* Here 'need' = her distress, and 'faith' = the promise of France. The image of the last two lines reminds us of *Rich. II*, 4. 1. 181-99.

224. *make my person yours* i.e. put yourself in my place.

225. *yourself*. F. 'your selfe?'

227. *the conjunction of our inward souls* = our closely united souls. The construction is loose.

229. *vows*; F. 'vowes,'

233. *even before* = just before.

237. *pencil*, F. 'pencill;'

240. *in both* 'in hostility ("blood") as well as in friendship ("love")' (Moore Smith).

242. *fast and loose* v. G. The point is that the knot which seemed fast was really loose.

244. *snatch our palm from palm* Prob. a reference to some childish game. Cf. 'clap this royal bargain up' in l. 235.

*palm*, F. 'palme:'

254. *love*. So F.

259. *chaféd* (Theobald) F. 'cafed' Most edd. follow Theobald, but Moore Smith interprets 'caged' as 'caged,' and suggests that a man shut up with a lion would require the more courage to take him by the paw. 'Chafed,' however, is a common epithet for a wild beast brought to bay at the end of a chase; cf. *Hen. VIII*, 3. 2. 206-7 'So looks the chafed lion/Upon the daring huntsman who has galled him'; *Wint.* 3. 3. 86; 3 *Hen. VI*, 2. 5. 126 'rages like a chafed bull'; *Tit. And.* 4. 2. 138 'the chafed boar'; *Shrew*, 1. 2. 200 'Rage like an angry boar chafed with sweat.' If the 'h' were omitted by accident, the change from 'cafed' to 'caged' would be naturally made by the press-corrector.

*mortal* v. G.

265. *tongue*. So F.

271-75. *Is not amiss...mistake again* i.e. 'Is not wrong if it is righteously carried out; and it is most righteously carried out by being not done at all, if the doing of it is wrong. When we have turned aside from the straight path the best thing to do is not to retrace our steps but to take another turning which is a short cut to the direction we ought to go.' For 'purposes mistook' cf. *Ham.* 5. 2. 382.

275. *again*; F. 'again,'

275-76. *though indirect...direct* Cf. *Ham.* 2. 1. 63 'By indirections find directions out,' and v. G. 'indirection.'

277-78. *as fire cools fire* etc. Referring to an old-fashioned remedy for burns. The passage explains *J. Caes.* 3. 1. 171; *Two Gent.* 2. 4. 190; *Cor.* 4. 7. 54; *Rom.* 1. 2. 46.

280. *religion*, F. 'religion:'

283-84. *an oath: the truth thou...forsworn*; F. 'an oath the truth, thou...forsworne,' I follow the punctuation accepted by most edd. Moore Smith makes a courageous attempt to justify the F. pointing, but even he prints a semicolon after 'oath.'

*the truth...forsworn* Ivor John explains this as 'a slight digression from the main argument, meaning—"and when you are asked to take an oath of which you are not sure of the consequences (such as, Pandulph would imply, the oath you took with John), you only swear not to be forsworn, i.e. on condition that it is not contrary to some greater oath."' The chief difficulty is in 'swears,' of which 'the truth' appears to be the subject; but once remember that Sh. often uses 's' instead of 'st' for the 2nd pers. sing., 'thou' (understood) becomes the subject, and the difficulty vanishes.

292. *giddy*=crazy, insecure. Cf. *2 Hen. IV*, 1. 3. 89 'an habitation giddy and unsure.'

*suggestions* v. G.

294. *them*: F. 'them.'

295. *The peril...light* 'The peril of our curses'=our perilous curses. Hence the pl. verb. Cf. *J. Caes.* 5. 1. 33 'The posture of your blows are yet unknown.'

298. *Will't not be?* i.e. Is nothing any use? Cf. *Rom.* 4. 5. 11, where 'Will it not be?' means 'Will nothing wake her?'

300. *Father, to arms!* Cf. *T.R.* 1. v. 133 (Philip) 'Nobles, to armes.'



303-4. *Shall braying...pomp?* Cf. T.R. 1. v.  
138-39:

And will your Grace vpon your wedding day  
Forfake your Bride and follow dreadfull drums.

Cf. also *Ham.* 1. 4. 11 and *Rich. II*, 1. 3. 135:

with boist'rous untuned drums,  
With harsh-resounding trumpet's dreadful bray.

309-12. *O, upon my knee...heaven* F. divides  
'O, vpon...kneeling/I doe...Daulphin,/Alter...  
heauen.' Pope first rearranged.

320. *need.* So F.

*fall from* v. G.

324-25. *Old Time...France shall rue* Spoken  
with grim satisfaction: the fight which the B. had  
thought changed

To a most base and vile-concluded peace

is to begin in a few minutes. Nothing now stands  
between the forces but Father Time, who is only too  
eager to serve his master Death.

330. *me.* So F.

339. *puissance* A trisyllable.

S.D. F. gives no exit.

340-43. *France, I am...of France* In T.R. most  
of John's indignation is vented on the Pope and he  
departs swearing to strip all the abbeys in his kingdom.

341. *condition*, F. 'condition;'

342-43. *That nothing...France* Capell conj. 'allay't'  
for 'allay' and Walker 'The best' for 'The blood';  
but as Furness points out 'John is fairly stammering  
with rage' and his speech is deliberately made dis-  
jointed.

347. *threats.* So F. S.D. F. 'Exeunt.'

## 3. 2.

F. heads this 'Scoena Secunda'.

S.D. F. 'Allarums, Excursions: Enter Bastard with Austria's head.' 'Alarums and Excursions' is the regular description in Shakespearian play-books and others for stage battles; 'alarums' = the noise of fighting 'within,' and 'excursions' = the 'four or five most vile and ragged foils,' as Sh. depreciatingly calls them in *Hen. V*, who passed in and out to give the audience an impression of being on the edge of the battle-field (v. Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, iii, 52-53, 106). No doubt most of the mock fighters were well trained to put up a good show, since battle scenes were evidently popular.

This brief scene comprises the matter of the following three scenes in T.R.:

(1. vi) 'Excursions. The Bastard pursues Austria, and kills him.' After this the B. has a speech of 13 lines exulting over the dead body (not merely the head) of his fallen foe, which concludes:

Lie there a pray to euery rauening fowle:  
And as my Father triumpht in thy spoyles,  
And trode thine Ensignes vnderneath his feete,  
So doo I tread vpon thy curfed selfe,  
And leaue thy bodie to the fowles for food.

Sh.'s 'Austria's head lie there,/While Philip breathes' contains the gist of it.

(1. vii) 'Excursions. Arthur, Constance, Lewes, hauing taken Q. Elianor prisoner.' After this follows a scene of 32 lines, in which Constance triumphs over her enemy Elianor, and the gentle Arthur counsels moderation. Sh. refers to this temporary reversal of fortune, but only retrospectively (3. 2. 6-7).

(1. viii) 'Excursions. Elianor is rescued by Iohn, and Arthur is taken prisoner. Exeunt. Sound victorie.'—action unaccompanied with dialogue.

2-3. *Some airy devil . . . mischief* i.e. A thunderstorm threatens. According to the demonologists there were

devils of air, fire, water, and earth (among other kinds); those of the air being specially responsible for tempests and thunderstorms. Ariel, who causes the storm in *The Tempest*, belongs to this class of spirits.

3. *mischief*. So F.

4. *breathes*=takes breath. The heat of the day accounts for the 'breathing.' Wright quotes 1 *Hen. IV*, 1. 3. 102-03:

Three times they breathed and three times did they drink,  
Upon agreement, of swift Severn's flood.

S.D. F. 'Enter Iohn, Arthur, Hubert.'

4-5. *Philip* The change of name to Sir Richard has been forgotten by Sh. because T.R. also forgets it; in 1. vi the B. calls himself Philip, and in 1. v and 1. ix K. John addresses him as such. Cf. *Introd.* pp. xlv-xlv.

5. *make up* v. G.

10. S.D. F. 'Exit.'

### 3. 3.

F. does not begin a new scene here.

S.D. F. 'Alarums, excursions, Retreat. Enter Iohn, Eleanor, Arthur, Bastard, Hubert, Lords.' T.R. 'Enter Iohn, Elianor, and Arthur Prisoner, Bastard, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Hubert de Burgh.'

The two versions of this scene afford an interesting example of the way Sh. went to work in revision. T.R. 1. ix (a matter of 46 ll.) contains all the elements of its successor, i.e. John's proposal to cross to England, leaving Elinor behind 'As Regent of our Prouinces in Fraunce'; his commission to the B. to raise money by ransacking the abbeyes; his friendly bearing towards Arthur, concealing very different intentions. These last are, however, only hinted at in T.R. and the hint is misinterpreted by Sh., perhaps at a second revision. Cf. *Introd.* pp. xxii-xxix, xlvi-xlviii.

2. *More* (Lettsom) F. 'So' The compositor's eye has obviously caught the 'So' from the line above. 'More' is essential to the context; cf. l. 70 below.

7-9. *see thou shake the bags* etc. The command, which is cruder in T.R., is fulfilled in the old play in a later scene (1. xi) representing the B. at his work among the 'friers' and the 'nunnes,' a scene which Sh. altogether cuts out.

8. *angels* With the usual pun; cf. 2. 1. 590.

10. *the hungry* i.e. the hungry troops.

11. *his*=its.

12. *Bell, book, and candle* i.e. the curses of the Church. Cf. Holinshed, iii, 192: 'this legat...did excommunicate Lewis by name...with bell, booke, and candle, as the manner was.'

13. *on*. So F.

17. S.D. F. gives no exit.

18. *kinsman*; F. 'kingsman,'

19. *Hubert*. So F.

20. *We owe thee much* Unless Hubert=1st Citizen, there is no explanation of these words, and those that follow seem to refer to the part that the 1st Citizen, the soul within the wall of Angiers, has played in 2. 1. v. *Introd.* p. xlvii.

22. *advantage* v. G.

23. *thy voluntary oath* There is nothing in either T.R. or *King John* to explain this. Perhaps it refers to some incident in a scene which Sh. later cut out. Cf. *Introd.* p. xlviii.

26. *time* (Pope) F. 'tune' Cf. MSH. i, 106.

32. *come* F. 'come,'

34-37. *the proud day...audience* The daylight is thought of as a monarch, surrounded by his pleasure-loving courtiers and refusing to give audience to the cares of state; it is a picture of Master Secretary Burleigh awaiting Elizabeth's pleasure, as he must often have done. Cf. Cheyney, *Hist. of England*, i, 38.



36. *too wanton . . . gawds* Cf. 2 *Hen. VI*, 4. 1. 1  
 'The gaudy, babbling, and remorseful day.'

39. *ear* (Collier and S. Walker) F. 'race' The emendation, now accepted by most edd., seems confirmed by the context. The F. compositor's 'e' box is 'foul,' as is seen at 2. 1. 402 where 'Townc' is set up for 'Towne.' It is possible therefore that 'care' was first set up inadvertently for 'eare,' and that the press-corrector imagining that the consonants had been transposed then altered the word to 'race.'

42-43. *that surly spirit . . . heavy-thick* That melancholy tended to choke 'the thin and wholesome blood', by thickening it and in the end rendering it 'adust', was a common physiological notion of the time. Cf. pp. 116-17, 313 of my *What Happens in 'Hamlet.'*

43. *heavy-thick* (Pope) F. 'heauy, thicke'

44. *tickling*=tingling, v. G. Sh. is also playing on the trans. sense of tickling to promote laughter.

45. *idiot* v. G.

*keep* v. G.

50. *conceit* v. G.

52. *broad-eyed* (Pope) F. 'brooded' Most edd. follow F. and explain 'brooded' as 'brooding' or 'sitting on brood'; but as Ivor John remarks: 'The day cannot be proud, wanton and full of gawds, attended with the pleasures of the world, watchful and at the same time brooded.' I adopt Pope's emendation with the less hesitation that O.E.D. and Onions both pronounce it 'very likely,' and quote Chapman's 'brode-ey'd Ioue' (εὐρύοπα Ζῆν, *Iliad*, viii, 206), which at once gives an apt parallel, explains the meaning as 'all-seeing,' and suggests how the misprint may have arisen, e.g. 'brod-eid' misread as 'brode-id.'

57. *Though that my death were adjunct* Wright cites *Lucr.* .133 'though death be adjunct.' Cf. G. 'adjunct to.'

59. *Hubert, Hubert, Hubert* King John's repetition

here, and frequent introduction elsewhere in the scene, of Hubert's name is deliberately ingratiating. Thus monarchs flatter their subjects when they wish to bend them to their will. Cf. *Ham.* 1. 2. 44-49 where Claudius 'positively coos over Laertes, caressing him with his name four times in nine lines' (Harold Child).

61. *serpent in my way* Cf. *Gen.* xlix. 17 'Dan shall be a serpent in the way' (Noble).

65-66. *Death...He shall not live* For the contradiction of this with the later 'blinding' warrant, v. *Introd.* pp. xxii-xxiv.

71. *For England, cousin, go* The Arthur of history was not sent to England but remained at Falaise in Normandy under charge of Hubert, whence he was later removed to Rouen, where he met his death. At 4. 3. 20, on the other hand, we learn that the castle, in which Arthur is incarcerated, is in England, being 'two long days' journey' distant from Bury St Edmund's. Cf. note 4. 1 (head) and Camb. Note II.

73. S.D. F. 'Exeunt.'

### 3.4.

F. heads this 'Scæna Tertia'

S.D. F. 'Enter France, Dolphin, Pandulpho, Attendants.' T.R. 'Enter the K. of Fraunce, Lewes his sonne, Cardinall Pandolph Legate, and Constance.' Once again Sh. accepts the material in T.R. (1. x), a scene of 46 ll., and expounds it without serious alteration.

1-3. *So, by a roaring tempest...fellowship* 'The reference is probably to the great Spanish Armada, which after being harassed and beaten by the English fleet was dispersed by a violent storm' (Wright, after Warburton). One of the many clues pointing to the early nineties. For 'convicted' v. G.

2. *armado* Cf. *Err.* 3. 2. 135-36 'Spain, who sent whole armadoes of carracks' etc.

5. *run*=run away; 'run' is by a quibble antithetical to 'go' (=walk).

8-9. *And bloody...France?* Philip's intention to prevent John's return to England is expressed not in *King John* but in T.R. (1. v. 133-5):

Nobles, to armes, let him not passe the seas,  
Lets take him captiue, and in triumph lead  
The K. of England to the gates of Rome.

11. *with such advice disposed* 'governed by such prudence or consideration' (Moore Smith).

12. *cause* Theobald conjectured 'course'; but 'cause' here=debate, quarrel (cf. 5. 2. 30).

16. *So...our shame* 'If there could be found any precedent for shame like ours' (Moberly), v. G. 'pattern,' which recurs in the same sense in *Tit. And.* 5. 3. 44 and nowhere else in Sh.

S.D. F. 'Enter Constance.' T.R. 'Enter Constance alone.' Capell reads 'her hair dishevelled'; cf. ll. 45, 61, 68 below, note 3. 1. 209 above, and Ophelia in *Ham.* 4. 5. 20 S.D.

18. *the eternal spirit*=the soul, to which 'her' refers.

19. *afflicted breath*= 'woeful life' (Moore Smith); cf. *Meas.* 3. 1. 8 'A breath thou art' and l. 37 below. Some suppose that 'breath'=spirit, but this is surely wrong.

20. *I prithee...with me* Cf. T.R. 1. x. 34 'come Constance, goe with me.'

23. *defy* v. G.

24. *redress...* F. 'Redresse:' Theobald, followed by Wright and others, read a comma here and a semi-colon after the second 'death' in l. 25. The F. pointing gives excellent sense. v. G. 'redress'.

25. *lovely* v. G.

26. *Thou odoriferous stench!* etc. Rose compares

'Juliet's rhetoric,' e.g. *Rom.* 3. 2. 73 sqq. 'O serpent heart, hid with a flowering face.' 'But,' he goes on, 'if we continue the scene, and examine particularly the famous lines, "Grief fills the room up of my absent child, Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me," we shall find that Constance's intellect is keenly analysing herself' (*New Shakespeare Soc. Trans.* 1880, p. 18). In a word, while Constance reminds us of Juliet, her rhetoric is still closer to that of Richard II.

35. *buss* Cf. Herrick, 'Kissing and Bussing' (*Hesperides*):

Kissing and bussing differ both in this  
We busse our Wantons, but our Wives we kisse.

40. *fell anatomy* i.e. Death, v. G. 'anatomy'

42. *Which...invocation* Taking 'invocation' in the modern sense, edd. have found this line weak; but 'invocation' = the incantation of a conjurer or exorcist (cf. O.E.D. 'invocation' 2, quoting Act 33 Hen. VIII, c. 8 'Sondrie persons...practised inuocations and coniurations of spirites,' and *A.Y.L.* 2. 5. 57 "'Tis a Greek invocation, to call fools into a circle'. The point, therefore, is that Death scorns even the most powerful conjuration as trivial and of no avail; cf. G. 'modern' and *All's Well*, 1. 3. 2-3 'We have our philosophical persons, to make modern and familiar, things supernatural and causeless.'

Probably 'Which' should be 'And,' seeing that the previous line also begins with 'Which'; cf. note 3. 3. 2.

44. *not holy* (F 4) F. 'holy' Steevens conj. 'unholy' and many edd. follow. I fancy a compositor is more likely to have omitted a small word like 'not' than part of a word like 'un.'

51. *Preach some philosophy* i.e. Tell me some scientific means.

52. *canónized* i.e. be made more than 'holy' (cf.



l. 44 above). The word is accented on the second syllable; cf. note 3. 1. 177.

*cardinal*; F. '(Cardinall.)'

55. *delivered of*=delivered from.

58. *a babe of clouts*=a rag-doll, v. G. 'babe,' 'clout.'

61. *Bind up those tresses* 'It was necessary that Constance should be interrupted, because a passion so violent cannot be borne long' (Dr Johnson).

63. *silver drop* i.e. a tear.

64. *wiry* A common poetic epithet for hair at this period. Cf. *Son.* 130, 4 'If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head.'

*friends* (Rowe) F. 'fiends' The compositor has omitted a letter.

68. *To England, if you will* v. *Introd.* pp. xlix-l.

81. *gracious* i.e. godly, holy (v. G.), and therefore acceptable to heaven. Edd., overlooking the 'For' at l. 79, have taken 'gracious' in the ordinary sense of charming.

85. *dim*=pale. Cf. *Wint.* 4. 4. 120 'violets dim.'

90. *heinous a respect*=terrible a view.

93-100. *Grief fills . . . you do* 'It is observable that our Author's son, Hamnet, died in August, 1596. That a man of such sensibility, and of so amiable a disposition, should have lost his only son, who had attained the age of twelve years, without being greatly affected by it, will not easily be credited' (Malone). Upon which Wright comments: 'Even if we adopt Malone's suggestion that there is in this passage a direct reference to Shakespeare's personal sorrow, it is easy to suppose that the lines 3. 4. 90-100 may have been added to the original draft of the play' (Clar. ed. Preface, p. iv). Cf. *Introd.* p. vii.

98. *grief!* F. 'griefe?'—a query often stood for an exclamation mark in books of this period.

100. *do.* So F.

101. *this form*= 'this orderly arrangement of hair'

(Wright); not 'head-dress,' as many suppose. Cf. 3. 1. 253; 5. 7. 26.

107. *joy*: F. 'ioy,'

108-9. *tedious...man* Cf. below 4. 2. 18-20 and *Macb.* 5. 5. 26-28.

110. *world's* (Pope) F. 'words' The compositor has omitted a letter.

112-83. *Before the curing* (to the end of the scene) All T.R. (1. x.) has to correspond with these 71 ll. are 11 ll. in which what the author calls Pandulph's 'good conceipt' is thus briefly set forth:

Arthur is safe, let Iohn alone with him,  
Thy title next is fairst to Englands Crowne:  
Now stirre thy Father to begin with Iohn,  
The Pope sayes I, and so is Albion thine.

118. *had*. So F.

125. *blood*. So F.

130. *throne, and therefore mark*. F. 'Throne. And marke:'

134. *rest*. So F.

135. *with*=by. Cf. 3. 3. 35.

136. *gained*; F. 'gain'd.'

138. *Makes nice of* v. G.

145. *How green...world!* Cf. note 2. 1. 472 and T.R. 1. iv. 196-97:

Ah boy, thy yeares I see are farre too greene  
To looke into the bottome of these cares.

146. *John lays you plots* i.e. 'John is doing your business' (Malone). v. G. 'plot.'

*you*; F. 'you,'

148. *untrue*. So F.

149. *borne* Not 'born,' as Camb. and many edd. read. v. G. 'bear.'

152. *it*; F. 'it.'

154. *no scope of nature* Wright explains 'no circumstance within the limits of nature's operations, no

natural effect.' No one seems to have cited *Meas.* 1. 2. 124-25:

So every scope by the immoderate use  
Turns to restraint,

where 'scope' = licence, irregularity, which is, I think, just the meaning required here. Pope read 'scape' and has been almost universally condemned by mod. edd. for so doing, on the ground that the context implies something normal, not abnormal. But here they seem to have missed the thread of Pandulph's thought, which is that natural irregularities, as well as ordinary events, will be thought unnatural and attributed to supernatural causes. The fact that 'scope of nature' occurs between 'natural exhalation' and 'distempered day' shows that it belongs to the same class, viz. of things which are unusual, though not unnatural. Thus, whether Sh. wrote 'scope' or 'scape' the meaning is the same; and a modern biologist would paraphrase the whole phrase as 'no sport.' In support of Pope's reading may be quoted *Lucr.* 747 'For day,' quoth she, 'night's scapes doth open lay'; cf. also *Wint.* 3. 3. 71. It is these 'scopes' or 'scapes' which the superstitious pronounce 'abortives,' i.e. monstrous.

157-58. *signs . . . presages* Cf. T.R. 1. xiii. 140-41:

Unvsuall signes, forerunners of euent,  
Prefages of strange terror to the world

—words used by John after the apparition of the Five Moons. For 'meteors' v. G.

166. *And kiss the lips . . . change* i.e. make love to innovation.

167-68. *And pick . . . fingers' ends* Cf. *Rom.* 1. 4. 65-66 'a round little worm/Pricked from the lazy finger of a maid.' The finger-ends are the busiest part of the body, and so 'the bloody fingers' ends' means John's murderous practices.

174-75. *a call To train* i.e. a decoy to entice.  
v. G. 'call,' 'train.'

175. *To train ten thousand* etc. Cf. T.R. i. xiii.  
236-37:

His death hath freed me from a thousand feares,  
But it hath purchast me ten times ten thousand foes.

182. *reasons make* (Capell) F. 'reasons makes'  
*strong actions* (F 2) F. 'strange actions' The cor-  
rection is accepted by all mod. edd. and can hardly be  
questioned: an *a: o* error.

183. *If you say ay* Cf. T.R. i. x. 41 'The Pope  
sayes I' (quoted above note ll. 112-83).

S.D. F. 'Exeunt.'

#### 4. I.

This corresponds with i. xii in T.R., a scene which  
Sh. completely rewrites. An intervening scene (i. xi),  
which is found in T.R. between those dealing with  
Pandulph's counsel to the Dauphin and the attempted  
blinding of Arthur, concerns the B.'s adventures with  
the monks and nuns and his encounter with Peter of  
Pomfret. This Sh. ignores.

S.D. F. 'Enter Hubert and Executioners.' T.R.  
'Enter Hubert de Burgh with three men.' For *England*  
v. 4. 3. 20 and note 3. 3. 71 above. Pope read *Changes*  
*to England. A Prison*, which is all the text warrants  
(cf. ll. 14, 17, and 4. 3. 34), though T.R. speaks of 'the  
Castle walles' at ii. ii. 39. Capell located the castle at  
Northampton, Grant White at Canterbury, Halliwell  
at Dover, each advancing historical reasons for his  
choice. But Sh. cared nothing for historical accuracy,  
unless he could make dramatic capital out of it, and  
prob. had the Tower of London in mind as he wrote  
these prison scenes. It was to the Tower that royal  
prisoners were normally consigned; London was 'two



days' journey' from Bury St Edmund's (4. 3. 20); while the coronation scene of 4. 2 would be assumed as taking place at Westminster by both Sh. and his audience, though in history it was actually performed at Canterbury.

1. *Heat me these irons hot* Compare the opening with that of T.R. 'My masters, I have shewed you what warrant I haue for this attempt.' The irons are not mentioned in T.R. at all.

2-3. *strike my foot . . . ground* In T.R. the counter-sign consists of the words 'God saue the King.' How much more effective is Sh.'s!

7. *scruples! fear* (Rowe) F. 'scruples feare' F4 'scruples, feare' The F. reading is possible, but strained.

8. S.D. F. 'Enter Arthur.' T.R. 'Enter Arthur to Hubert de Burgh.'

10-11. *As little prince . . . as may be* A quibbling reference to his captive condition. 'Prince' is used adverbially. To paraphrase: 'I am as little of a prince as it is possible to be, considering that if I had my rights I should be a king.'

11. *sad* Sh. makes Hubert 'sad' at the beginning of the scene; T.R. makes him 'faint' at the end.

15-16. *as sad as night . . . wantonness* Alluding to the melancholy pose in fashion at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. 'Only for wantonness' = just for fun.

30. *you.* So F.

33. *Read here* T.R. gives the words of the warrant in full; Sh. is content to show their effect upon Arthur.

41. *Have you the heart?* The Arthur of T.R. threatens Hubert with 'all the plagues of hell.'

46. *like the watchful minutes to the hour* i.e. 'the minutes that watch the progress of the hour' (Onions). Arthur compares his little questions to the tickings of a clock which bring some relief by marking the passage

of the weary hours. One of the many instances of Sh.'s interest in sleeplessness.

49. *good love* = act of kindness; cf. *Per.* 2. 4. 49.

52. *at your sick service* = as your sick-nurse.

54. *cunning: do* F. 'cunning. Do'

*will: F.* 'will,'

60. *this iron age* Fleay took this as an allusion to Heywood's *Iron Age* which he identified with *Troy* played by the Admiral's men on 22 June 1596. But men have talked of the iron age ever since Hesiod.

61. *heat* = heated v. Abbott, § 342.

63. *his* (Capell) F. 'this'

64. *the matter* i.e. 'the substance which betokens my innocence (the water of my tears)' (Moore Smith).

66. *But for containing* = just because it contained.

70. *Hubert's!* F. 'Huberts.' It is possible that Sh. intended this as a broken sentence, interrupted by Hubert's stern 'Come forth.'

71. S.D. F. gives none. T.R. 'They issue forth.' But T.R. places the entry quite early in the scene before the showing of the warrant.

77. *stone-still* (Rowe) F. 'stone-still'

80. *lamb;* F. 'Lambe.'

81. *wince* (F 2) F. 'winch'—the old sp. Cf. note *Ham.* 3. 2. 241.

85. *let me alone with him* i.e. leave me to deal with him alone. The expression, a common one, has a touch of boastfulness about it. Cf. T.R. 1. xii. 28 'So firs, depart, and leaue the rest for me,' and 1. x. 38 'Arthur is safe, let Iohn alone with him.'

86. S.D. F. gives no exit.

92. *mote* F. 'moth'—the old sp.

93. *a dust* Cf. above, 3. 4. 128.

99. *want pleading* = plead insufficiently.

108. *In undeserved extremes* = in inflicting undeserved acts of cruelty. Cf. G. 'extreme' and 5. 7. 13.

115. *sparkle* v. G.

117. *tarre* v. G. *on*. So F.

118-19. *All things... Deny their office* Cf. T.R. 1. xii. 46-47, quoted in *Introd.* p. xxviii.

120. *extend* (Pope) F. 'extends' The 'creatures' of l. 121 show that Sh. had the plural sense in mind. Mistakes in number are one of the commonest of compositor's slips; cf. MSH. ii, 235-44, and notes below at l. 122 and 4. 2. 73. For the meaning of 'extend' v. G.

121. *mercy-lacking* (Pope) F. 'mercy, lacking'

122-23. *Well, see to live... owes* Cf. T.R. 1. xii. 127-28:

Cheere thee young Lord, thou shalt not loose an eye  
Though I should purchase it with losse of life.

122. *eyes* (Capell) F. 'eye' Once again 'them' in l. 125 proves that Sh. had the plural in mind.

123. *owes* v. G.

126. *Hubert! all* F. 'Hubert. All'

127. *disguised* (Pope) F. 'disguis'd' *more* So F.

128. *dead*. So F. 129. *dogged* v. G.

132. *I thank you, Hubert*. In T.R. the thanks are more elaborate and condescending:

Hubert, if euer Arthur be in state,  
Looke for amends of this receiued gift  
I tooke my eyfight by thy curtesie,  
Thou lentst them me, I will not be ingrate.

133. *closely* v. G.

134. S.D. F. 'Exeunt.' T.R. gives the same S.D.

#### 4. 2.

The corresponding scene in T.R. (1. xiii) begins with a speech by John announcing his intention of being crowned again 'for confirmation of our State' after his emancipation from the power of Rome; Pembroke

questions the wisdom of the act, but John insists. The B. then enters with news of his successful ransacking of the monasteries and tells of Peter of Pomfret. Thereupon after a second long speech by John in explanation, the coronation takes place; the nobles crave 'the libertie of Ladie Constance Sonne,' and John consents. While he is speaking, however, 'the five Moones appeare' in the air above his throne, which Peter (hurriedly brought in by the B.) interprets as signifying the revolt from Rome; but when John expresses pleasure at this the prophet replies by foretelling that he will lose his crown before Ascension Day is over. In a fury John recalls his pardon of Arthur and, no sooner has he spoken, than Hubert enters with the news of Arthur's blinding and death. At this the nobles in disgust leave the king to bemoan his fate, in a speech of 34 lines, and to round upon Hubert, who concludes this extraordinary scene of rapid surprises by informing John that his commands have not been carried out and that Arthur sees and lives. Sh. takes considerable liberties with all this, but never makes clear why a coronation is required.

S.D. F. 'Enter Iohn, Pembroke, Salisbury, and other Lordes.' T.R. 'Enter King Iohn, Essex, Salisbury, Penbrooke.' *King John's Palace* first read by Camb.

1. *Here once again . . . crowned* Cf. T.R. 1. xiii. 88 'Once ere this time was I inuested King.'

*again* (F 3) F. 'against'

3-39. *This 'once again' . . . highness will* This is an expansion of an 8-line speech by Pembroke in T.R. (1. xiii. 32-39).

10. *guard*=adorn v. G.

10. *before*, 11. *lily*, 14. *rainbow*, F. prints semicolons in all three cases.

14-15. *with taper-light . . . garnish* 'Another way of putting the common expression "To burn daylight"' (Furness); cf. *M.W.W.* 2. 1. 48 and *Rom.* 1. 4. 43.



18-20. *is as an ancient tale . . . unseasonable* The same image has already been used at 3. 4. 108.

21. *antique* (Pope) F. 'Anticke,'

24. *fetch about* i.e. change its tack.

25. *consideration*, F. 'confideration:' i.e. those who ponder matters of succession and constitution. Salisbury suggests that by his second coronation John has called in question the validity of his title.

28-29. *When workmen . . . covetousness* Jowett quotes this in illustration of Plato's argument that 'the just does not aim at excess,' v. his trans. of *The Republic*, i, 27. 'Covetousness' = inordinate ambition. Wright paraphrases: 'They destroy what they have done skilfully by their eager desire to improve it.' Malone cites *Lear* I. 4. 369 'striving to better, oft we mar what's well.'

31. *the excuse* F. 'th' excuse'

37-39. *we are all well pleased . . . will* Salisbury concludes politely: though John had gone against their wishes, the nobles are well pleased since their will must correspond with his; v. G. 'make a stand at.'

41. *strong*; F. 'strong.'

42. *when lesser* (Tyrwhitt) F. 'then leffer' Steevens and Malone adopted Tyrwhitt's emendation in their text, but Camb. restored the F. reading and most edd. have since followed, some trying to extract sense out of the passage by taking 'then' as 'than.' But both Herford and Moore Smith admit that Tyrwhitt's change is 'very plausible,' and the latter points out 'that if "when" be read, at once a clear meaning is given to "meantime" in l. 43, which is otherwise strangely vague.' No one apparently (except Belden) seems to have observed that John is speaking of Arthur: he means that when the news of his death reaches him, his fears will be less and he will be able to speak more openly on the matter to his nobles. The corresponding line of T.R. (I. xiii. 41), 'Thou knowst not what induceth me to this,' confirms the interpretation.

48. *sound* v. G.

49-50. *but...safety* The F. pauses before and after these words give them a sinister emphasis that is almost a threat.

50. *they* (Pope) F. 'them' As Moore Smith suggests, the compositor having set up 'my selfe and them' in l. 49 by a natural error does so again in the following line.

52-58. *whose restraint...kinsman* Cf. T.R. 1. xiii. 118-20:

Whose durance darkeneth your Highnes right,  
As if you kept him prisoner, to the end  
Your selfe were doubtfull of the thing you haue.

54. *argument*,— F. 'argument.'

55. *in rest you have* i.e. you possess in peace (Moore Smith).

56-57. *Why then...should move you* This has puzzled many, and the sense would no doubt be clearer had Sh. transposed 'then' and 'should' as Pope did for him. But Wright notes: 'The argument or enquiry takes the form of an indirect question. The people ask, says Pembroke, why your fears should' etc.

58-60. *choke his days...exercise* Cf. *A.Y.L.* 1. 1. 5-22.

61. *the time's enemies*=the foes of the present regime.

62. *To grace occasions*=to point their arguments or talk. Cf. *Temp.* 2. 1. 171 'to minister occasion', and *Tw. Nt.* 1. 5. 85. Wright and others explain: 'to give them a fair opportunity for attack' and cf. *A.Y.L.* 4. 1. 169. But this surely is to give a strange turn to 'grace.'

*occasions*, F. 'occasions:'

64. *for our goods*=for our own good. Sh. often uses abstract words in the plural; cf. 'faiths' (supra l. 6) and *Ham.* 2. 1. 96 'without their helps.'

65. *whereupon* i.e. to the extent that. Herford paraphrases the whole sentence: 'We ask his liberty no

further than the commonwealth counts it your advantage.'

66. *weal* (Rowe, ii) F. 'weale:'

S.D. F. 'Enter Hubert.'

68. *What news with you?* Cf. T.R. 1. xiii. 207 'what newes with thee.' In T.R. Hubert communicates his news in the ears of all present.

73. *Doth* (Dyce) F. 'Do' F<sub>4</sub> 'Does'—which most edd. follow. Perhaps the misprint arose from the juxtaposition of 'th' and 'sh,' which might look much alike in the secretary hand.

77. *Between...conscience* i.e. 'Between the criminal act that he planned and commanded to be executed, and the reproaches of his conscience consequent on the execution of it' (Malone). Cf. ll. 247-48 below.

78. *set* Agrees with 'battles.' The heralds are not 'set'; their coloured coats 'come and go' between the armies like the changes in the King's countenance.

80-81. *And when it breaks...corruption* Cf. below ll. 101-2 and *Ham.* 4. 4. 27-28 'th'impostume... That inward breaks.'

84. *dead.* So F.

89. *answered* v. G. and cf. *J. Caes.* 3. 2. 85.

*here or hence*=in this world or the next. Cf. 5. 2. 29 and G. 'hence'

94. *offer* v. G.

95. *So thrive it in your game!* i.e. May your game thrive foully too. Cf. *Macb.* 1. 5. 22-23 'Wouldst not play false, and yet wouldst wrongly win,' and 3. 1. 3 'Thou playedst most foully for it.' Salisbury speaks to the King as a player might who leaves the room upon detecting a cheat at cards. For the T.R. parallel v. *Introd.* p. xxxi.

98-100. *His little kingdom...hold* Cf. 1 *Hen. IV*, 5. 4. 89-92 and *Rich. II*, 3. 3. 153-54:

And my large kingdom for a little grave,  
A little little grave, an obscure grave.

For 'forced' v. G.

98. *grave*. So F.

101. *borne*: (edd.) F. 'borne,'

102. *To all our sorrows* i.e. To the undoing of us all (by civil war).

S.D. F. 'Exeunt'

105. S.D. F. 'Enter Mef.'—at l. 102. In T.R. Lewis and the French do not come over until they are invited by the nobles, who are themselves incited thereto by finding Arthur's body beneath the prison walls.

106. *hast*. So F.

110. *From France to England* A quibble, viz. 'all in France' goes to England.

113. *The copy of your speed* Cf. 1. 1. 25 ff. and G. 'copy.'

116. *intelligence* v. G.

117. *my mother's care* The initial letter of 'care' in F. is broken, and some edd. have thought it might be a broken 'e' (v. Note xxiv in Camb.). Furness, however, observes that the same broken letter occurs in 'marches' (2. 1. 60) and in 'sawcineffe' (5. 2. 133), and that it shows progressive deterioration in the three instances. Moreover, he adds, 'For John to ask, Where is my mother's ear that she did not hear of this? is almost tautological.'

120. *the first of April* The actual day and month of Elinor's death. Not given in T.R. As no chronicle recording the date was known to the Elizabethans, it is puzzling to see how Sh. can have stumbled upon it. Liebermann (*Archiv*, cxlii, 178-79) imagines that he may have seen it noted in some old calendar preserved at Beaulieu, originally an abbey founded by King John, though in Elizabeth's time the property of the Earls of Southampton. Boswell-Stone (*Shakespeare's Holinshed*, p. 61) conjectures that Shakespeare chose April 1 because that happened to be the date of 'a celestial appearance, of such sort as was believed to forbode the departure of great persons' which is 'mentioned under



the same year, and on the same page which contains the record of her decease' in Holinshed. My own suggestion is that though Sh. did not find the date in T.R. he had no need to go outside T.R. for it, since the meeting of the nobles at Edmundsbury is twice referred to in the next scene of that text as taking place on April 10, so that he would naturally select a slightly earlier date for the death of Elinor, quite unconscious of the fact that it was historically exact. But whatever be the explanation, accident must be mainly responsible. Cf. *Introd.* p. xxxii.

123. *Three days before* Actually she 'died at Nantes three years and not three days before Elinor, 31 August, 1201' (Wright). T.R. does not mention Constance's death and makes John refer casually to Elinor's at II. ii. 117.

124. *idly* v. G.

125. *dreadful occasion* The course of events is thought of as a rapid, bearing John swiftly towards the gulf; cf. 'under the tide' (l. 138). Wright aptly quotes 2 *Hen. IV*, 4. 1. 70-72:

We see which way the stream of time doth run,  
And are enforced from our most quiet there,  
By the rough torrent of occasion.

Cf. G. 'occasion'

128. *How wildly... France!* i.e. 'My power in France must be reeling' (Moore Smith). v. G. 'wildly.'

132. S.D. F. 'Enter Bastard and Peter of Pomfret.' —at l. 131. Pomfret = Pontefract. Peter is a historical character; in T.R. he is fetched in by the B. later in the scene (v. head note).

*Now*, (Rowe) F. 'Now?'

132-35. *what says... proceedings... the worst* Liebermann quotes T.R. II. ii. 59-63 (a later scene):

(*John*) What say the Monkes and Priests to our proceedings?...

(*Bastard*) But please your Maiesstie were that the worst etc.

134. *news*, F. 'newes:'

146. *fear*. So F.

157. *hanged*. So F.

159. S.D. F. gives no exit.

165-66. *Of Arthur...suggestion* F. prints in one line.

168. *I have a way...again* We are not told what the 'way' is, and T.R. gives no clue. It is enough to suggest to the audience that all will yet be well.

170. *the better foot before* Cf. *Tit.* 2. 3. 192.

*before*. So F.

174-75. *Be Mercury...again* Cf. *M.N.D.* 2. 1. 173-76.

175. —*like thought*— F. '(like thought)'

181. S.D. F. 'Enter Hubert.'

182. *five moons*

About the moneth of December, there were seene in the prouince of Yorke fve moones, one in the east, the second in the west, the third in the north, the fourth in the south, and the fift as it were set in the midst of the other; hauing manie stars about it, and went fve or six times incompassing the other, as it were the space of one houre, and shortlie after vanished awaie (Holinshed, iii, 163).

In T.R. (1. xiii) Peter of Pomfret interprets the sky as Rome, the four fixed moons as four obedient 'provinces,'

To wit, Spaine, Denmarke, Germanie, and Fraunce  
That beare the yoke of proud commaunding Rome,  
and the wandering moon as Albion,

Who gins to scorne the Sea and State of Rome,  
And seekes to shun the Edicts of the Pope.

What is in T.R. an elaborate stage-effect becomes with Sh. a mere detail of the general atmosphere of rumour and fantasy in the land.

183-84. *did whirl about The other four* Cf. T.R. 1. xiii. 170 'that whirls about the rest.'

185-202. *Old men and beldams... Arthur's death*  
 With this vivid description of excitement in a crowded street cf. *Cor.* 2. 1. 220-37. 'Beldams' is prob. suggested by T.R. 1. xiii. 68 (of Peter) 'He sets a date vnto the Beldames death' (Liebermann).

189. *ear*; F. 'eare.'

192. *eyes*. So F.

197-98. *slippers... contrary feet* Dr Johnson's famous note ('Sh. seems to have confounded the man's shoes with his gloves. He that is affrighted or hurried may put his hand into the wrong glove, but either shoe will equally admit either foot') tells us nothing about shoe-making in the 16th cent. but much about Johnson's own footgear. Malone writes: 'It should be remembered that tailors generally work barefooted; a circumstance Sh. probably had in mind when he wrote the passage.'

199. *a many thousand* Cf. note 1. 1. 183.

200. *Kent*: F. 'Kent.'

205-42. *Thy hand hath murdered him... never see me more!* All this refers back to John's 'suggestion' of death in 3. 3, and entirely ignores the fact that the warrant ('hand and seal' 1. 215) was for blinding only. The style here and at 3. 3 seems to be decidedly late. Cf. *Introd.* p. xxiii.

207. *No had*=Had I not? Wright quotes Peele's *Edward I* (Malone Soc.'s Reprint, ll. 1237-40):

*Qu. Eli.* What, whether I will of no? you will not leaue? let be I say?

*Long.* I must be better chidde.

*Qu. Eli.* No wil?

215. *Here is... I did* Cf. T.R. 1. xiii. 262 'Why heres my Lord your Highnes hand & seale.'

216-42. John's treatment of Hubert is remarkably like Leontes's treatment of Camillo in *Wint.* 1. 2.

216-18. *O, when...damnation!* Cf. T.R. 1. xiii.  
266-68:

Showst me a seale? Oh villaine, both our foules  
Haue folde their freedome to the thrall of hell  
Under the warrant of that curfed seale.

220. *Make* The pl. is suggested by 'means' and 'deeds' in the previous line. Cf. Abbott, § 412.

222. *Quoted and signed*=Noted and marked out.  
v. G.

223. *mind*: F. 'minde.'

225. *villany*, F. 'villanie:'

227. *I faintly...death* A direct reference to 3. 3.

231-41. *Hadst thou...to name* Dr Johnson's comment upon these lines is fine, not only as a piece of interpretative criticism but also as an example of his own peculiar critical genius. It runs:

There are many touches of nature in this conference of John with Hubert. A man engaged in wickedness would keep the profit to himself, and transfer the guilt to his accomplice. These reproaches, vented against Hubert, are not the words of art or policy, but the eruptions of a mind swelling with consciousness of a crime, and desirous of discharging its misery on another.

This account of the timidity of guilt is drawn *ab ipsis recessibus mentis*, from the intimate knowledge of mankind, particularly that line in which he says that *to have bid him tell his tale* in *express* words would have *struck him dumb*: nothing is more certain than that bad men use all the arts of fallacy upon themselves, palliate their actions to their own minds by gentle terms, and hide themselves from their own detection in ambiguities and subterfuges.

232. *purposéd*, F. 'purposed:'

233. *face*, F. 'face;'

234. *As bid*=As would have bid.

*words*, F. 'words:'

236. *me*: F. 'me.'

238. *signs...sin* There is word-play here.



242. *Out . . . See me more!* Cf. T.R. i. xiii. 269-70:

Hence villaine, hang thy selfe, and say in hell  
That I am comming for a kingdome there.

245-48. *Nay, in this body . . . cousin's death* Cf. J. Caes. 2. i. 67-69. For 'confine' v. G.

250. *you.* So F.

254-55. *Within this bosom . . . thought* Cf. Ham. 3. 2. 396-97.

255. *motion* v. G.

256. *nature* v. G.

259. *a butcher* Cf. T.R. i. xiii. 250-51:

And not a title follows after Iohn

But Butcher, bloudfucker and murtherer. (Liebermann.)

263-66. *Forgive . . . thou art* It is characteristic of John that he asks Hubert's forgiveness, not for his slanders, but for his remarks upon his personal appearance.

266. *art.* So F.

268. *expedient* v. G.

269. *I conjure . . . fast* The note of urgency, already struck in ll. 170, 174-76, is here again sounded.

S.D. F. 'Exeunt.'

#### 4. 3.

Sh. follows T.R. generally in this scene, though he transfers the conversation about the Dauphin and Saint Edmundsbury from the end to near the beginning, introduces the B., and gives the dying boy only two lines to utter after the fatal leap, in place of the fifteen in T.R. Holinshed (iii, 165) writes:

But now touching the maner in verie deed of the end of this Arthur, writers make sundrie reports. Neuerthelesse certeine it is, that, in the yeare next insuing, he was remooued from Falais vnto the castell or tower of Rouen, out of the which there was not any that would confesse that euer he saw him go alieue. Some haue written, that, as he assaied

to haue escaped out of prison, and proouing to clime ouer the wals of the castell, he fell into the riuier of Saine, and so was drowned. Others write, that through verie greefe and languor he pined awaie, and died of naturall sicknesse. But some affirme, that king Iohn secretlie caused him to be murthered and made awaie, so as it is not throughlie agreed vpon, in what sort he finished his daies; but verelie king Iohn was had in great suspicion, whether worthilie or not, the lord knoweth.

For a modern summing up of the evidence v. Kate Norgate, *John Lackland*, pp. 90-93.

S.D. F. 'Enter Arthur on the walles.' T.R. 'Enter yong Arthur on the walls.'

1. *down*. So F.

4. *this ship-boy's semblance* Arthur's disguise suggests that Sh. thought of the 'prison' as being close to a port from which escape might be made by sea; another clue pointing to the Tower of London, cf. note 4. 1. S.D.

8. *As good to die...stay* Furness writes: 'This alternative is, of course, an impossibility.' But surely what Arthur means is: I may just as well die in attempting escape as stay here to be killed by John.

*go, as* F. 'go; as'

S.D. F. gives none. T.R. 'He leapes, and brusing his bones, after he was from his traunce, speakes thus;'

10. *Heaven...bones!* Rushton (apud Furness) points out that Arthur's dying bequest corresponds with the regular form of words found in wills of the period, and quotes those of Sh.'s own will: 'First I comend my soule into the handes of God my Creator...and my bodye to the earth whereof yt ys made.'

S.D. F. 'Dies.'/'Enter Pembroke, Salisbury, & Bigot.' T.R. 'He dyes.'/'Enter Penbrooke, Salsburie, Effex.'

11. *him* i.e. the Dauphin, as l. 16 makes clear.

15. *Melun* (Rowe) F. 'Meloone' T.R. 'Melun'

16. *private with me* Generally explained as 'private

communication with me.' But while 'private' (sb.) is found in the sense of 'private affairs,' 'private opinion' and 'privacy,' it is nowhere else found in *this* sense. I suspect corruption, i.e. that 'warrant' has been misprinted 'with' and then 'me' added by the press-corrector to make sense; 'private warrant of the Dauphin's love' would be characteristic and straightforward. The word 'warrant,' perhaps because written in the contracted form of 'wrt,' is not infrequently misprinted in Sh.; it appears, for instance, as 'wit' in *Ham.* (Q 2) 2. 1. 38, as 'wait' in *Ham.* (Q 2) 3. 4. 6, and as 'write' in *All's Well* (F.) 3. 5. 69. Cf. MSH. i, 107-8. For 'with me' Collier conj. 'missive' and Spedding 'witness.'

20. *two long days' journey* Cf. note 4. 1. S.D. Bury is 75 miles from London.

S.D. F. 'Enter Bastard.'

21. *Once more to-day* Cf. 4. 2. 162-64.

22. *The King...straight* Cf. T.R. 11. i. 60-61:

(Hubert) He craues your company my Lords in haste,  
To whome I will conduct young Arthur streight.

24. *line* A quibble, v. G.

*thin bestained* F. 'thin-bestained'

25. *honours*, F. 'Honors:'

26. *walks*. So F.

29. *reason* v. G.

30. *grief*, F. 'Greefe.'

33. *man* (F 2) F. 'mans' Collier asserts that the Devonshire copy of F. reads 'man,' but as Furness points out, traces of the 's' are visible.

35-50. *O death...remorse* The germ of this is found at T.R. 1. xiii. 218-22 quoted on p. xxix.

36-38. *The earth...revenge* Cf. *Ham.* 1. 2. 257-58:

foul deeds will rise,

Though all the earth o'erwhelm them, to men's eyes.

40. *precious-princely* (Capell) F. 'precious Princely'

*for a grave* The bodies of princes were not buried in the ground, but embalmed and placed in a sepulchre or vault.

41. *Sir Richard* One of the few occasions on which the B. is given his proper title in the play; cf. *Introd.* p. xlv.

*have you beheld* (F 3) F. 'you haue beheld'

43. *almost*=even, v. G.

46-47. *the crest...murder's arms* The crest, of course, surmounted the coat of arms.

46. *crest, or crest* F. 'Crest: or Crest'

49. *wall-eyed wrath* v. G. 'wall-eyed.' The reference is to murder in jealousy.

50. *remorse*=pity, v. G.

52. *sole*=unique.

54. *times*=times to come. Malone quotes *Hen. V*, 2. 4. 83 and *Lucr.* 718:

That through the length of times he stands disgraced.

57. *a damned...work* Cf. T.R. II. i. 37 '*Salsburie* O ruthfull spectacle, O damned deede' (Liebermann).

58. *heavy* v. G.

63. *practice* v. G.

67. *vow*, F. 'Vow:'

71. *this hand* i.e. 'his own hand which is uplifted while he pronounces this vow' (Wright). Mrs Murrie suggests (privately) that the hand may be Arthur's, which he kisses as a solemn pledge, in which case 'worship' would=respect or homage.

73. S.D. F. 'Enter Hubert.'

79. *Your sword is bright* Malone quotes *Oth.* I. 2. 59:

Keep up your bright swords, for the dew will rust them.

There is contempt in both speeches.

82. *yours*. So F.

84. *my true defence* i.e. 'defence in a good cause' (Johnson). Cf. *Lear*, 3. 6. 120 'in thy just proof.' But



there is probably a quibble here also, since 'defence' may mean fence or sword-play.

87. *Out, dunghill!...nobleman?* An indication that Sh. took Hubert to be of humble rank, i.e. an ordinary 'citizen.' Cf. *Introd.* p. xlvii and 2 *Hen. VI*, 1. 3. 196 'Base dunghill villain.' But T.R. gave him the clue in 'base villaine' (11. i. 63).

90. *Do not prove me so* i.e. 'by compelling me to kill you' (Johnson).

91. *none.* So F.

91-92. *Whose tongue...lies* 'Hubert is calling Salisbury a liar in a manner befitting his humbler position' (Ivor John).

93. *Keep the peace* The pugnacious B.'s eagerness for peace is due to his anxiety to prevent civil war in view of the French invasion; cf. 4. 2. 171-73.

95. *Salisbury.* So F.

98. *dead.* So F.

99. *toasting-iron* A contemptuous term for a sword; cf. *Hen. V*, 2. 1. 7-9 'I dare not fight; but I will wink and hold out mine iron: it is a simple one; but what though? it will toast cheese.' O.E.D. gives 'toasting-iron' as archaic for 'toasting-fork.' The two implements were not, I fancy, exactly the same.

106. *life's* (Rowe) F. 'liues'

110. *remorse* v. note l. 50.

*innocency.* So F.

115. S.D. F. 'Ex. Lords.' T.R. gives 'Exit Hughb,' and leaves the lords behind, to decide upon an appeal to the Dauphin 'To claime the Kingdome for his proper right,' to arrange a meeting at Edmundsbury, and to carry out the body of Arthur.

117-19. *Beyond...Hubert* F. prints in two lines. That this is to be set down to the compositor attempting to save space on the page is borne out by the crowding in l. 115, where the prefix *Pem* is contracted to *P.* and 'Ex. Lords' is printed at the end of the line of verse.

120. *Ha!*=*Eh!* Cf. *Ham.* G.

*what*; F. 'what.'

122. *Prince Lucifer.* Through a mistaken notion, prob. arising from *Luke* x. 18, that Satan is referred to in *Isaiah* xiv. 12, Lucifer has been identified with the Prince of Darkness from the early fathers down to mod. times.

123. *so ugly* The emphasis upon Hubert's ugliness (cf. 4. 2. 220-25, 266) suggests that the actor who played him possessed uncomely features.

126. *act*, F. 'Act:'

127-28. *if thou want'st...womb* This reminds us both of *M.V.* 4. 1. 360-62:

Beg that thou mayst have leave to hang thyself...  
Thou hast not left the value of a cord

and of *Rom.* 1. 4. 61 'The traces of the smallest spider's web.'

130. *on*; F. 'on.'

133. *stifle...up* i.e. entirely stifle.

*up.* So F.

140-41. *I...lose my way...world* Cf. 3 *Hen. VI*, 3. 2. 174-75:

And I,—like one lost in a thorny wood,  
That rends the thorns and is rent with the thorns.

142-43. *England up! From...royalty*, (Theobald) F. 'England vp, From...Royalty?' The query (=exclamation mark) has obviously been set up at the end of the wrong line; such transposition of terminal pointing is not uncommon.

145. *England now is left* Some have taken 'England' as John; but l. 146 clearly shows that the whole realm is meant, a realm which has become the scene of a dog-fight. Sh. begins by thinking of England as torn by faction, struggling for a crown left by Arthur's death without a legal owner; but the words he uses for the

struggle suggest the image of dogs fighting for a bone; hence ll. 148-50.

147. *proud-swelling state* i.e. the royal pomp.

151. *from home* = either (a) from their home overseas, or (b) alien to this country.

152. *Meet in one line* Cf. *Ham.* 3. 4. 210:

When in one line two crafts directly meet.

Schmidt explains 'go the same way.' The image involved is not clear, but I suggest that of two knights meeting at full tilt in the lists, which they would do 'in one line.'

153. *As doth . . . beast* Cf. T.R. 11. i. 36 (Pembroke on Arthur's body) 'A pray for birds and beafts to gorge vpon.'

154. *wrested pomp* = usurped majesty. This, and the identification of Arthur with England (l. 142), show what the B. thinks of John's claims to the throne; cf. *Introd.* p. lx.

*pomp.* So F.

155. *centure* (Moore Smith) F. 'center' Pope read 'cincture,' which gives the meaning, but it is as well to preserve the Shakespearian sound of the word.

156. *tempest.* So F.

159. S.D. F. 'Exit'

## 5. 1.

Whereas 4. 3. corresponds with T.R. 11. i, this scene leaps to 11. iv. The two scenes ignored by Sh. are both long. The first of them opens with a dialogue between John and the prophet of Pomfret, who is then sent to his execution. There follows a long talk by the King and the Bastard about the expected arrival of Lewis, the threatened conspiracy of the nobles at Edmundsbury, and John's sorrows in general, in the which John figures

almost as a martyr, and which are all credited to the Pope. The conclusion (ll. 165-72) runs:

Then Iohn there is no way to keepe thy Crowne,  
But finely to dissemble with the Pope:  
That hand that gaue the wound must giue the salue  
To cure the hurt, els quite incurable.  
Thy finnes are farre too great to be the man  
T'abolish Pope, and Popery from thy Realme:  
But in thy Seate, if I may gesse at all,  
A King shall raigne that shall suppressse them all.

After which prophecy of his sacred majesty Henry VIII, Pandulph enters and, though at first naturally suspicious at John's sudden conversion, soon agrees to accept the penitent on condition that he surrenders his crown to the see of Rome. While John hesitates before this final indignity, a messenger reports that Lewis has been sighted off the coast of Kent with a hundred sail, so that the unhappy king is left with no option save to submit to Pandulph. The next scene, which runs to 284 lines, is concerned with the meeting of the rebellious nobles at Bury, a meeting which is interrupted by a defiant speech from the B.'s mouth and concludes with the entry of Lewis and the double-track conspiracy of the English and French lords.

The first 32 ll. of the following scene in Sh. are based upon the opening 18 ll. of T.R. II. iv. The remainder of it has no parallel in T.R., while the rest of II. iv in that text is used by Sh. for his 5. 2.

F. heads the scene 'Actus Quartus, Scæna prima.' S.D. F. 'Enter King Iohn and Pandolph, attendants.' T.R. 'Enter K. Iohn, Bastard, Pandulph, and a many priests with them.'

1. *Thus have I yielded* etc. The scene is evidently designed as a contrast to 4. 2 which opens with John enthroned receiving the obeisance of his nobles immediately after his coronation. The events, however, are equally unexpected; we have heard nothing pre-



viously of John's intention to submit to the Pope, or even that Pandulph is in England. But the surrender of the crown to the legate was the best known feature of John's reign to the Elizabethans, and Sh. probably felt he could rely upon that knowledge. The point to notice is that whereas the surrender is led up to in T.R. by long scenes which represent it as a bitter necessity forced upon a desperate King, Sh. exhibits it as a shameful voluntary act (cf. l. 29) with no extenuating circumstances whatever. He does not state this explicitly; he makes the B. exclaim against the terms with Lewis, not the submission to Pandulph; he lets the fact speak for itself. But the contrast between the speech at ll. 62-65 and the B's exhortation which precedes it could scarcely be missed by the most obtuse spectator.

3. *Pope*, (Rowe) F. 'Pope' 'By inserting a comma after 'Pope,' 'sovereign greatness and authority' may be made the object of 'take': the meaning is thus preserved and the grammatical construction saved. It is so printed in the 1821 Boswell-Malone' (Ivor John). Camb. and most mod. edd. follow F.

2-4. *Take again...authority* Cf. T.R. II. iv. 3 'Receiue thy Crowne againe.'

8. *counties* It is doubtful whether English shires or the rebellious nobles are here referred to. As there is no other mention of the latter, though the previous scene shows them to be one of the chief causes of John's predicament, I incline to believe they are meant.

10. *the love of soul* i.e. the deepest love. Cf. *Ham.* 3. 2. 77 'the very comment of thy soul.'

12-13. *inundation...qualified* John refers metaphorically to the four humours of the body, fluids which must be blended in due proportion for health; 'inundation' = flood, i.e. an undue preponderance of one humour arising from distemper, which must be 'qualified' (=abated) by 'present medicine' (=immediate treatment). Cf. T. Bright's *Treatise of Melancholie*, 1586,

p. 97 (quoted in my *What Happens in 'Hamlet,'* p. 318).

13. *qualified*. So F.

14-16. *for the present time's...ensues* Cf. *Ham.*

4. 3. 9-11 'Diseases desperate grown By desperate appliance are relieved, Or not at all.' The image derives from T.R. II. ii. 167-68, quoted above (head-note).

For 'overthrow' and 'time' v. G.

24. S.D. F. 'Exit.'

29. *But...voluntary* This smug self-satisfaction gives us a very different John from the fire-breather at the opening of the play.

S.D. F. 'Enter Bastard.' T.R. 'Enter a Messenger.'

30. *All Kent hath yielded* T.R. II. iv. 13 'all places yeeld.'

30-31. *nothing...castle* Cf. T.R. II. iv. 14-15 'not a foote holds out/But Douer Castle.'

31. *London* This suggests that the king's palace in which they are speaking is not at Westminster. In T.R. Lewis has described his voyage up the Thames and his friendly reception by 'Troynouant' (= London) during the previous scene.

32. *powers*: F. 'powers.'

35. *hurries up and down* Moore Smith quotes *V.A.* 903 ff. 'fear...madly hurries her she knows not whither.' For 'amazement' v. G.

38. *After they heard...alive?* Munro (Introd. p. xxxiii) notes that whereas in T.R. the news of Arthur's death, together with the election of Lewis, forces John to submit to Pandulph, in Sh. John submits to Rome still thinking that Arthur lives; and adds 'This is so important and obvious a change that it cannot have been without design.'

39. *cast into the streets* Cf. T.R. II. i. 35 'cast out a doore' (also of Arthur's body).

44-61. *But wherefore...so nigh*. The B.'s exhortations only serve to emphasise John's supineness. It is

noteworthy that ll. 44–50 come very close to the words of *Macb.* 1. 7. 39–43 and 1. 5. 63–65.

55. *become the field* Cf. *Ham.* 5. 2. 400.

59. *forage* v. G.

66. *upon the footing of our land* i.e. standing on English soil.

67. *fair-play orders* Cf. 5. 2. 118. 'Orders' here appears to mean stipulations, conditions (cf. 5. 2. 4), and 'fair-play' to refer to the laws of chivalry between foes. But there are no exact parallels in Sh., or, so far as I know, elsewhere.

*compromise* F. 'comprimise'

71. *flesh...soil* i.e. get his first taste of blood by ravaging the land of warriors older and braver than himself. To flesh one's maiden sword was to use it for the first time in battle (cf. 1 *Hen. VI*, 4. 7. 36 'Did flesh his puny sword in Frenchmen's blood'). Cf. G. 'flesh.'

72. *Mocking...spread* Cf. T.R. 11. iii. 177 'Wauing our Ensignes with the dallying windes' and viii. 150 'With Ensignes of defiance in the winde.'

77. *Have thou...time* 'To all the B.'s exclamations of shame at compromise... John says but this' (Munro, p. xxxiv). The B. is now become the hero of the play. John's reply to the B.'s exhortation in T.R. 11. iv. 80–87 (quoted below at 5. 2. 128–50) is a similar listless 'Philip I know not how to answere thee.'

78–79. *yet...Our party...foe* i.e. 'I know that we are still able to encounter even a prouder enemy than the French' (Wright).

79. S.D. F. 'Exeunt.'

## 5. 2.

Ll. 1–64, which refer back to the scene at St Edmundsbury (T.R. 11. iii) omitted by Sh., have no parallel in T.R. That text, on the other hand, treats the altercation



between Lewis, Pandulph and the B. (ll. 65—end) as part of II. iv, i.e. Lewis and his supporters find John, Pandulph and the B. 'on' when they enter (v. T.R. S.D. at head of last scene).

S.D. F. 'Enter (in Armes) Dolphin, Salisbury, Meloone, Pembroke, Bigot, Souldiers' T.R. 'Drums and Trumpets. Enter Lewes, Melun, Salisbury, Essex, Pembroke, and all the Nobles from Fraunce, and England.'

3. *the precedent* i.e. the rough draft of the treaty; cf. *Rich. III*, 3. 6. 7.

4. *fair order*=equitable conditions.

8. *broken*. So F.

19. *cries out upon* i.e. for being on the opposite side.

26. *Were born* (F 2) F. 'Was borne'

30. *Upon the spot...cause* i.e. On account of the disgrace to which this unavoidable quarrel has brought us. 'Spot' (v. G.) is used quibblingly.

35. *from the knowledge of thyself* i.e. to self-forgetfulness. Moore Smith quotes *A. & C.* 2. 2. 91 'poisoned hours had bound me up/From mine own knowledge.'

36. *grapple* (Pope) F. 'cripple' Steevens conj. 'gripple,' a variant of 'grapple' (v. O.E.D., quoting Heywood, *If you know not me*, 'The distant corners of their gripled fleet'). But Sh. uses 'grapple' at 3. 1. 104 and 5. 1. 61 above, to say nothing of eight times in other plays. The error is prob. due to a minim-misprint of 'gripple' for 'grapple,' which was then corrected on the press to 'cripple.' Cf. MSH. i, § vii.

37-38. *Where...league* i.e. Where the two foes might spend their blood, now incensed against each other, in league against the common enemies of Christendom. For the quibble in 'vein' v. G.

41. *affections* v. G.

42. *Doth* Cf. note 2. 1. 250.

43. *hast thou* (F 4) F. 'haft'



44. *compulsion* Cf. 'enforcéd cause' (l. 30).

*a brave respect* i.e. a fine regard for your native land.

46. *doth progress* The tear is so 'honourable' that it is thought of as a royal personage going on progress. At the same time the image repeats that of 2. 1. 339-40:

Unless thou let his silver water keep  
A peaceful progress to the ocean

53. *meteors*. So F.

59. *Full of warm blood* (Heath) F. 'Full warm of blood' Camb. adopts Heath's conj. which seems obviously right, seeing that Lewis is contrasting the warm (=easy, pleasant) blood of the banquet hall with the cold blood on the field of battle.

64. *And even...spake*. This has puzzled most edd. Wright attempts to explain it as a reference to the entrance of Pandulph with a play upon 'angel,' the coin, (after 'purse' and 'nobles'), and Malone paraphrases: 'In what I have now said an angel spake; for see, the holy legate approaches to give a warrant from heaven and the name of right to our cause.' The Cowden Clarkes, supported by Furness, suggest the trumpet, which I have adopted as a S.D., since it clears away all difficulties, angels being proverbially 'trumpet-tongued' (*Macb.* 1. 7. 19). N.B. The F. gives no S.D. for the B.'s trumpet at l. 116 below.

S.D. F. 'Enter Pandulpho'—after l. 63.

69. *The next is this* The haughty prelate is abrupt, almost rude. His salutation is brief, and he proceeds at once to business, church-business.

70. *come in* v. G.

78. *back* i.e. go back. Cf. Abbott, § 405.

82. *world*. So F.

83-87. *Your breath...enkindled it* Cf. T.R. 11. iv. 48-9:

Now with a word to make them carie armes,  
Then with a word to make them leaue their armes

85. *matter*=fuel. v. G.

88. *to know the face of right*=‘to recognize my right’ (Moore Smith).

89. *interest to* v. G.

97-100. *What penny...charge* Cf. T.R. II. iv. 35-37:

Why Pandulph, hath K. Philip sent his sonne  
And been at such excessiue charge in warres,  
To be dismist with words?

101. *liable* v. G.

104. *Vive* The final ‘e’ is sounded.

*roy* I keep the F. sp.

*banked their towns* v. *Introd.* p. xxv. An expression which can only be understood by reference to T.R., since it is based, as Steevens first saw, upon II. iii. 170-75:

Your Citie Rochester with great applause  
By some deuine instinct layd armes aside:  
And from the hollow holes of Thamesis  
Eccho apace replide Viue la roy.  
From thence, along the wanton rowling glade  
To Troynouant your fayre Metropolis.

Thus ‘banked’=coasted; or rather it is a word for river-sailing ‘formed on the analogy of “coasted”’ (Wright). It is noteworthy that the passage just quoted comes from one of the scenes which Sh. did not make use of; but he clearly knew it well.

108. *No, no* The second ‘no,’ which disturbs the metre, may perhaps be a ‘connective insertion,’ cf. MSH. i, 77-79.

112. *promised* i.e. by Pandulph at 3. 4. 126 ff.

113-15. *head...culled...outlook* v. G.

116. S.D. F. gives none. No doubt, the B.’s ‘lusty trumpet’ sounded much louder than the legate’s ‘angel’; cf. above note l. 64.

117. S.D. F. ‘Enter Bastard.’

119. *I am sent to speak* i.e. not to fight, in spite of my loud trumpet.

123. *limited* v. G.      125. *temporize* v. G.

128-50. *Now hear our English King...his nest* An expansion of the following from T.R. II. iv. 80-86 (the B. to John):

Betake your self to armes, my troupes are prest  
To answere Lewes with a lustie shocke:  
The English Archers haue their quiuers full,  
Their bowes are bent, the pykes are prest to push:  
God cheere my Lord, K. Richards fortune hangs  
Upon the plume of warlike Philips helme.  
Then let them know his brother and his sonne  
Are leaders of the Englishmen at armes.

Perhaps the reference to 'the English Archers' reminded Sh. of Poitiers at which he glances in ll. 142-44 (cf. note 1. 144), while the allusion to the spirit of K. Richard is clearly the germ of 'For thus his royalty doth speak in me.'

130. *too* (F 2) F. 'to'

132. *harnessed masque* = masque in armour; v. G. 'harnessed.'

133. *unhaired* (Theobald) F. 'vn-heard' v. G. and 5. 1. 69 'beardless boy.' Theobald's reading, accepted by most edd., is only a modernisation of a Shakespearian sp. We find 'heare' for 'hair' thrice in *Troil.* (1. 2. 154, 164, 168) and *V.A.* (51, 147, 191).

135. *these pigmy arms* (Rowe) F. 'this Pigmy Armes'—a repetition of 'this' earlier in the line and reiterated in ll. 131-33.

136. *territories*. So F.

138. *take the hatch* Like dogs who are beaten, and fly, leaping the hatch (cf. 1. 1. 171), to escape their master's stick. Cf. *Lear*, 3. 6. 76 'Dogs leap the hatch and all are fled.'

140. *stable planks* This means, I take it, stable floors (cf. O.E.D. 'planch').

141. *pawns* i.e. articles in a pawnshop.

143. *thrill*=shiver.

144. *Even...crow* Much debated. Douce ingeniously explains: 'That is, at the crowing of a cock, "*your nation's crow*"; *gallus* meaning both a cock and a Frenchman (i.e. an inhabitant of Gallia)'. But to call a 'cock' a 'crow' is strange, and Furness shows that the cock did not become the French national emblem until the time of Bonaparte. Brinsley Nicholson is more likely to be right in thinking that the line refers to the incident of an ominous flight of ravens, which Holinshed records at Crécy but which was introduced into the play of *Edward III* (c. 1594), as striking terror into the French just before the battle of Poitiers. In iv. 5.28-29, for instance, Philip, the French king's son, reports:

A flight of vgly rauens  
Do croke and houer ore our souldiers heads

Again in iv. 64-65:

the amazed French  
Are quite distract with gazing on the crowes

And Prince Edward says:

What need we fighte, and sweate, and keepe a coile,  
When railing crowes outscolde our aduersaries

(v. *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, xi, 251). If *Edward III*, as many believe, be an early play by Sh. himself, such a link with *King John* would be the more natural. Cf. *Introd.* p. lv.

145. *his voice* (Rowe) F. 'this voyce'  
*Englishman*; F. 'Englishman.'

149-50. *And like an eagle...nest* Suggested by words, in T.R. II. vii. 3-4, applied by Lewis to the English, viz.:

The Englishmen as daunted at our fight,  
Fall as the fowle before the Eagles eyes

149. *towers* v. G.



152-53. *bloody Neroes...mother* Liebermann cites T.R. i. i. 370 'As curfed Nero with his mother did' (the B. to his Mother). Cf. also Melun to the English lords at T.R. ii. v. 38-41:

Back warmen, back, imbowell not the clyme,  
Your feate, your nurse, your birth dayes breathing place,  
That bred you, beares you, brought you vp in armes.  
Ah be not so ingrate to digge your Mothers graue.

Note that 'ingrate reuolts' in l. 151 echoes 'ingrate' here. Finally with 'ripping up the womb' cf. T.R. i. i. 131-32:

Ungracious youth, to rip thy mothers shame,  
The wombe from whence thou didst thy being take,

in which the words 'shame' and 'womb' are found in close conjunction, as in Sh.

153. *mother England*, F. 'Mother-England:'  
*blush for shame* Cf. T.R. ii. iv. 61 'For shame ye Peeres of England.'

155. *drums*, F. 'drummes:'

156. *change* Dyce read 'chang'd,' which seems a decided improvement, while an *e : d* misprint would be easy; cf. MSH. i, 104, 109.

157. *needles* The word is monosyllabic as in *M.N.D.* 3. 2. 204, *Rich. II*, 5. 5. 17 (quoted in note 5. 4. 11 below), etc.

159-62. *There end...brabblers*. Cf. T.R. ii. iii. 141-42 'Percy A hote young man, and so my Lords proceed'

160. *fare* (F 2) F. 'Far'

170. *thine*; F. 'thine.'

174. *legate* F. 'Lcgate'

175. *Whom he...need* This is Sh.'s only indication that John's submission to Rome was not a genuine conversion, whereas in T.R. ii. ii John expatiates at length on his intention 'finely to dissemble with the Pope.' Cf. head-note 5. 1.

176-77. *in his forehead...death* An echo, or anticipation, of *Rich. II*, 3. 2. 160-62:

for within the hollow crown  
That rounds the mortal temples of a king  
Keeps Death his court

180. S.D. F. 'Exeunt.'

### 5. 3.

The corresponding scene in T.R. (II. vi) runs to 144 ll., begins with a weary speech by John, and continues with an account by the B. of the repulse by the French and the loss of men and 'carriages' in the Wash, at which point John arrives at the Abbey. There follows his welcome by the abbot and, after he has gone within, the plot against his life is laid by the abbot and one of the monks.

S.D. F. 'Alarums. Enter Iohn and Hubert.' T.R. 'Enter King Iohn carried betweene 2. Lords.'

3. *This fever...so long* The fever, which has not been mentioned before, is as unexpected in T.R. as here, though it is the main theme of T.R. II. vi. 1-65. Holinshed speaks of it as an alternative explanation of the King's death. T.R. and Sh. give John first the fever and then the poison, thus combining the two theories.

4. S.D. F. 'Enter a Messenger'

5. *My lord*, F. 'My Lord:'

8. *Swinstead* King John actually rested at Swineshead Abbey, as Holinshed notes. Swinstead is another place in Lincolnshire at which there was no abbey. The mistake is found in T.R. which prob. derives it from Foxe, though it also occurs in Rastell's *Chronicle* and Stow's *Annals*.

9. *the great* F. 'rhe great'

9-11. *supply...Goodwin Sands* Liebermann cites T.R. II. vii. 52-53:

(*Lewes*) Though our munition and our men be lost,  
Phillip of Fraunce will send vs fresh supplyes.

10. *were expected* F. 'was expected' As Malone noted, and most edd. agree, 'supply' here and in 5. 5. 12-13 is used as a noun of multitude and regarded as a plural; 'are' therefore in l. 11 is correct. But if so, the F. 'was' in l. 10 can hardly be right, since it is difficult to believe that Sh. wrote 'was' in one line and 'are' in the next, when the same subject was in view. I attribute 'was' to the compositor and suppose that having set up the sing. 'supply' in l. 9, he changed 'were' to 'was' in l. 10 almost automatically. For 'supply' v. G.

11. *Goodwin Sands* Cf. *M.V.* 3. 1. 4.  
*Sands*. So F.

14. *Ay me* F. 'Aye me'

15. *news*. So F.

16. *my litter* As T.R. makes no mention of a litter and Holinshed does, it might be argued that we have here an instance of Sh. consulting the chroniclers. But since the S.D. (v. supra) of T.R. speaks of John entering 'carried betweene 2. Lords' the litter is easily inferred and if Sh. had known T.R. on the stage he would prob. have remembered the litter as a stage property. Cf. *Introd.* p. xxxii.

17. S.D. F. 'Exeunt.'

#### 5. 4.

This follows the lines of T.R. 11. v fairly closely.

S.D. F. 'Enter Salisbury, Pembroke, and Bigot.'

T.R. 'Excursions. Enter Meloun with English Lords.'

2-3. F. points 'French, If...miscarry:' which must be wrong.

5. *spite of spite* v. G.

6. S.D. F. 'Enter Meloon wounded'

10. *bought and sold* v. G.

11. *Unthread...rebellion* i.e. 'Withdraw from the difficult and hazardous undertaking in which they were

engaged' (Wright). An allusion to *Matth.* xix. 24 which is more explicitly made in *Rich. II*, 5. 5. 17-18:

It is as hard to come as for a camel  
To thread the postern of a small needle's eye.

12. *home* i.e. 'to your bosoms' (Moore Smith).

14. *lord* (Wright) F. 'Lords' Cf. *Hen. V*, 4.4. 80-81 'The French might have a good prey of us, if he knew of it.' Here 'the French' = the Dauphin. The F. 'Lords,' which may be set down to the compositor trying to make grammar (cf. note 5. 3. 10), would render 'He' in l. 15 very obscure.

16-20. *thus hath he sworn...love* What Melun reports is enacted upon the stage in T.R. II. iii.

24-25. *a form of wax...the fire* Alluding to the practice of witchcraft which killed a person by melting an image of him before the fire.

25. *his* = its.

29. *live hence by Truth* i.e. pass to the next world, where the secrets of all hearts are made manifest. The capital T comes from F. v. G. 'hence.'

34-35. *the burning crest...sun* Tennyson observes: 'As far as I am aware, no one has noticed what great Æschylean lines there are in Shakespeare, particularly in *King John*,' upon which he quotes this passage (v. *Alfred Lord Tennyson, A Memoir*, by Hallam Lord Tennyson, ii, 289). I owe this note to Mr Percy Simpson.

34. *crest* = helmet. Camb. records an anon. conj. 'cresset' (= beacon), which is attractive.

37-38. *fine...fine* For the quibble v. G. and cf. *Ham.* 5. 1. 103-5. The quibble is continued with 'rated' v. G.

38. *lives*, F. 'liues:'

39. *If Lewis...win the day* Cf. T.R. II. v. 18 'if Lewes win the day.'

40-41. *commend me...the love of him* No trace of



any acquaintance between Melun and Hubert is given elsewhere in *King John* or in T.R. Possibly the reference is a loose thread, left in revision.

42. *For that...Englishman* This line is found in T.R. II. v. 28.

45. *field*, F. 'Field;'

47. *peace*, F. 'peace:'

50. *the favour and the form* i.e. the outward appearance. Cf. *Son.* 125. 5 'dwellers on form and favour.'

53-57. *like a bated...our ocean* Cf. 3. 1. 23 'Like a proud river peering o'er his bounds.'

60. *right*=unmistakably, v. G.

61. *intends* i.e. has as the end or object of its journey.

*old right* i.e. the ancient path of right. Cf. Pandulph's argument at 3. 1. 274-75.

S.D. F. 'Exeunt.'

## 5. 5.

The parallel scene in T.R. (II. vii) opens with an exultant speech by Lewis, after which three messengers enter one after the other bringing him news of (1) the return of the English nobles to John, (2) the loss of the French supplies on the Goodwin sands, and (3) the supposed drowning of John in the Wash.

S.D. F. 'Enter Dolphin, and his Traine.' T.R. 'Enter Lewes and his armie.'

1. *set*, F. 'fet;'

3. *English* Rowe (ii) read 'th'English,' prob. correctly.

*measured* (Pope) F. 'measure'—an *e:d* misprint, as Walker and Lettsom perceived. Cf. MSH. i, 104, 109. For 'measure backward' cf. *Temp.* 2. 1. 256.

4. *In faint retire* Cf. T.R. II. vi. 33 'retyre' (subs.), referring to the same retreat, and above 2. 1. 253, 326.

7. *wound* (Rowe, ii) F. 'woon'd'

*tattering* (Malone) F. 'tott'ring'—a frequent sp. with Sh.

*clearly* Ambiguous; 'without obstruction from the foe' seems the best rendering, v. G. Camb. conj. 'cleanly,' which 'is equivalent to "neatly" and seems to be appropriate as antithetical to "tottering" or "tattering."'

8. S.D. F. 'Enter a Messenger.'

12-13. *your supply . . . Goodwin Sands* Cf. note 5. 2. 9-11 and T.R. II. vii. 41 'our forces cast away' (Liebermann).

17-18. *King John . . . powers* Cf. T.R. II. vi. 42-45:

By this time night had shadowed all the earth,  
With fable curteines of the blackest hue,  
And fenst vs from the fury of the French,  
As Io from the iealous Iunos eye

20. *keep good quarter* i.e. keep a good watch at your posts; v. G. 'quarter.'

22. S.D. F. 'Exeunt.'

## 5. 6.

No parallel in T.R.

S.D. F. 'Enter Bastard and Hubert, feuerally.'

1-6. *Who's there?* etc. F. prints as follows:

*Hub.* Whose there? Speake hoa, speake quickly, or I shoote.

*Bast.* A Friend. What art thou?

*Hub.* Of the part of England.

*Bast.* Whether dost thou go?

*Hub.* What's that to thee?

Why may not I demand of thine affaires,  
As well as thou of mine?

*Bast.* Hubert, I thinke.

Most edd. have agreed that there is some confusion of speech-prefixes here, seeing that the impetuosity of the opening speech is clearly more appropriate to the B.

than to Hubert, while the question 'Why may not I . . . as thou of mine?' is equally clearly a reply to 'What's that to thee?' Assuming these two points, and starting from '*Bast. Hubert, I thinke,*' where the prefix must be right, we arrive at the distribution of speeches in my text, which seems unobjectionable.

6. *Thou hast . . . thought* i.e. You think correctly.

7. *upon all hazards* Cf. 1. 1. 119.

9. *and if* Capell and some edd. read 'an if,' which may be Sh.'s intention since 'an' is generally printed 'and' in F. The difference in meaning is, however, very slight.

12. *Unkind remembrance!* i.e. What a discourteous memory I have!

*eyeless night* (Theobald) F. 'endles night'—'eie' misread 'end,' as Walker saw; cf. MSH. i, 106, 109 and 'due' misp. 'end' in *Son.* 69. 3. Furness tries to justify 'endless night' (=death, cf. *Rich. II*, 1. 3. 177, 222) as a reference to the death of John. But (i) how could that 'have done him shame'? and (ii) so far there has been no mention of John's death. The reference to 'night . . . of the blackest hue' and 'Iunos eye' in T.R., quoted in note 5. 5. 17-18 above, supports the emendation.

17. *in the black brow of night* 'As we say, in the face of day' (Fleay). 'black brow' = eyeless brow, like Death's; cf. previous note.

18. *Brief* (F 2) F. 'Brcefe'

23. *poisoned by a monk* v. *Introd.* pp. xxi-xxii.

26. *the sudden time* = the sudden emergency. v. G. 'time.'

27. *at leisure* v. G. 'leisure'

28. *taste to him* Referring to the custom of having all food 'tasted' by a special officer before it passed the royal lips. Cf. T.R. 11. viii. 32-33:

*John.* Begin Monke, and report hereafter thou wast taster to a King.

30. *Whose bowels...out* Both Foxe and Grafton (but not Holinshed) mention this detail; T.R. does not, though as it (II. viii. 112) attributes the affliction of the bowels to John himself, the same effect is naturally transferred to the poisoner. There is no need to suppose Sh. got it from the chronicles.

38. *tempt...power* Cf. 1 Cor. x. 13.

39-42. *half my power...escaped* Cf. T.R. II. vi. 47-53:

Passing the washes with our carriages,  
The impartiall tyde deadly and inexorable,  
Came raging in with billowes threatning death,  
And swallowed vp the most of all our men,  
My selfe vpon a Galloway right free, well pacde,  
Out stript the flouds that followed waue by waue,  
I so escapt to tell this tragick tale.

Note 'washes,' 'tyde,' 'swallowed vp,' 'well pacde,' 'escapt.' T.R. has 'Lincolne washes' at II. vii. 40.

44. S.D. F. 'Exeunt.'

### 5.7.

T.R. concludes with two scenes (II. viii, ix), the first of which begins 'Enter two Friars laying a Cloth.' The Abbot, K. John and the B. then enter and after taking their seats, the poisoner-monk offers 'wassall' to John who drinks it, when the monk has first tasted it. The monk dies and John then utters a long death-bed speech of repentance which is interrupted by the entry of Pandulph and Prince Henry bringing the repentant nobles, whom John silently forgives just before his death. Pandulph then goes to make peace between Lewis and the young king. This we see effected in the brief final scene which concludes with the coronation of Henry and a patriotic speech by the B.

S.D. F. 'Enter Prince Henry, Salisburie, and Bigot.'

2. *his pure brain* i.e. his brain, naturally so clear.



Cf. *Timon*, 4. 3. 195-96 'greases his pure mind/That from it all consideration slips.' Deloney's lines, from *The Lamentable Death of King Iohn* (*Strange Histories*, 1602):

Th'infectious drinke fund vp into his head:  
And through the veines into the heart it spred,  
Distempering the pure vnspotted braine,  
That doth in man his memorie maintaine,

appear to have been written under the influence of Sh.'s play.

4. *idle comments*=insane remarks.

5. S.D. F. 'Enter Pembroke.'

10. *the orchard* Cf. T.R. II. viii. 6 'I meruaile why they dine heere in the Orchard.'

11. *rage* v. G. S.D. F. omits 'exit'

14. *In their...themselves* i.e. After continuing some time cease to be felt.

*themselves*. So F.

16. *invisible* After many attempts at emendation by older edd., the mod. fashion is to explain this as referring to Death, who 'invisibly' passes from the bodily outworks to the citadel of the mind. But since all the actions of Death are invisible, the interpretation seems pointless. I suggest *invasible* (referring to the 'outward parts' which are now easy of access to the 'legions of strange fantasies'), a word found in Cotgrave and elsewhere, and with which 'invasive' at 5. 1. 69 above is closely connected. The whole passage is a sustained metaphor drawn from invasion; and is based upon the following lines in T.R. II. viii. 57-59:

Power after power forsake their proper power,  
Only the hart impugnes with faint resist  
The fierce inuade of him that conquers Kings

where the sb. 'invade' lends support to the emendation 'invasible.'

17. *mind* (Rowe) F. 'winde'

20. *Confound themselves*=nullify each other (cf. 4. 2. 29). That is, the mind becomes quite incoherent.

21. *cygnet* (Rowe) F. 'Symet'—clearly a misprint for 'Synet,' a sp. not recorded in O.E.D.

22. *Who chants...death* The fable of the dying swan, often referred to by Sh. Cf. *Phoenix and the Turtle* 'the death-divining swan,' *M.V.* 3. 2. 44, *Luc.* 1611.

26. *indigest*=shapeless mass, Apparently a reminiscence of 'rudis indigestaque moles' (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, i. 7). Cf. *Manfred*, by George Meredith, 'An after-dinner's indigest.' 'Digest' with Sh. often means 'put into form,' 'give shape to.' Cf. *Ham.* 2. 2. 444 'well digested.'

27. S.D. F. 'Iohn brought in.'

29. *It would not...doors* Prob. a reference to the superstition that it is easier to die out of doors, an idea of which Scot makes use in *Guy Mannering*, ch. xxvii (near the end).

32-34. *I am a scribbled...shrink up* Cf. Chapman, *Alphonsus*, 4. 2. 9-10, 'Mine entrails shrink together like a scroll/Of burning parchment.'

34-35. *fares...ill fare* For the same quibble cf. *Ham.* 3. 2. 90-92.

37-41. *To thrust...comfort me with cold* Cf. T.R. II. viii. 53-56:

Philip some drinke, oh for the frozen Alps,  
To tumble on and coole this inward heate,  
That rageth as the fornace feuenfold hote,  
To burne the holy tree [three] in Babylon.

42. *strait* (Pope) F. 'straight' v. G.

48. S.D. F. 'Enter Bastard.'

51. *set mine eye* i.e. close my eyes in death.

52-55. *The tackle of my heart...stay it by* Sh.'s expansion of T.R. II. viii. 108 'Philip, my heart strings breake.' Cf. Deloney (cited note 5. 7. 2) 'I feele my heart strings ready for to burst.'

58. *module . . . royalty* = pattern (in little) of ruined royalty; v. G. 'module.'

59. *The Dauphin . . . hitherward* Cf. T.R. II. viii. 149 'the Dolphin maketh hetherward.'

60. *heaven He knows* Walker sees in this a clear example of the change of 'God' to 'heaven' in conformity with the 'Act to restrain Abuses of Players' passed in 1606; cf. MSH. i, 82 ff.

*him*: F. 'him.'

62. *upon advantage* i.e. 'seizing a favourable opportunity' (Wright).

64. *Devoured . . . flood* Cf. note 5. 6. 39-42 for T.R. parallel.

S.D. F. gives none. First read by Rowe. T.R. gives the dying John long speeches of contrition for his past sins, together with a prophecy of Henry VIII's advent, which Sh. omits.

65. *dead news* = deadly news.

72. *to heaven* However doubtful the B. and Sh. may have been about John's character when alive, they grant him salvation.

74. *you stars* = the nobles

*that move in your right spheres* = have returned to your allegiance, to revolve round the Centre, the throne.

82. *Pandulph* As in T.R. Historically it was Cardinal Gualo who intervened between John and the French.

89. *it is* (Pope) F. "'tis'

90. *carriages* Cf. T.R. II. vi. 47 'Passing the washes with our carriages.'

92. *cardinal*: F. 'Cardinall,'

99. *Worcester* F. 'Worster' T.R. II. ix. 38, 50 'Worster.' This name occurs fifteen times elsewhere in Sh., thirteen of them in 1 *Hen. IV* (Q 1), and is spelt 'Worcester' in every instance. The coincidence of sp. between T.R. and *King John* (F.) in this particular is therefore significant.



102. *the lineal state* As the heir of a crowned king, Henry had a better title than John; just as Henry V's was better than his father's. For 'lineal' cf. note 2. 1. 85.

108. *give you thanks* (Rowe) F. 'giue thankes'

110-11. *O, let us pay...griefs* A commercial metaphor; v. G. 'beforehand.'

*time but* (Rowe) F. 'time: but'

112-18. *This England never did* etc. This famous passage seems to be a condensation of the following three passages in T.R. 11. ix:

(a) ll. 25-29:

*Dolphin.* Faith Philip this I say: It bootes not me,  
Nor any Prince, nor power of Christendome  
To seeke to win this Iland Albion,  
Unles he haue a partie in the Realme  
By treason for to helpe him in his warres.

(b) ll. 45-46:

(*Bastard*) Let England liue but true within it selfe,  
And all the world can neuer wrong her State.

(c) ll. 53-54:

(*Bastard*) If Englands Peeres and people ioyne in one,  
Nor Pope, nor Fraunce, nor Spaine can doo them wrong.

Mrs Murrie draws my attention to ll. 374-79 of *Edmond Ironside* (MS. Egerton 1994, probably dating from 1590-1600, printed by the Malone Society 1927):

Oh that when Strangers cannot Conquer vs  
wee should Conspire w<sup>th</sup> them against our selves  
England yf ever warr they face doth spoyle  
thancke not thy outward foe but inward frind  
for thou shalt never pishe tell that daye  
when thie right hand shall make thie harte awaye.

116. *the three corners of the world* i.e. the other three corners of the world, England being the fourth. Cf. 'that utmost corner of the west' 2. 1. 29.

117. *shock* v. G.

118. S.D. F. 'Exeunt.'



# GLOSSARY

*Note.* Where a pun or quibble is intended, the meanings are distinguished as (a) and (b)

ABORTIVE (sb.), abortion, untimely or monstrous birth; 3. 4. 158

ABSEY BOOK, ABC book; 1. 1. 196

ABSTRACT (sb.), a compendium, 'a smaller quantity containing the virtue or power of a greater' (O.E.D. quoting Johnson); 2. 1. 101

ACCENT, a significant tone or sound; a word; 5. 6. 14

ACTION, gesture (cf. *Macb.* 5. 1. 32 'It is an accustomed action with her, to seem thus washing her hands'); 4. 2. 191

ADJUNCT TO, consequent upon; 3. 3. 57

ADVANCE (vb.), to move upward, raise (cf. *Temp.* 1. 2. 413); 2. 1. 207

ADVANTAGE, (i) interest (cf. *M.V.* 1. 3. 66-7); 3. 3. 22; (ii) opportunity; 3. 4. 151; (iii) 'upon advantage' = by stratagem or surprise, or on opportunity; 5. 7. 62

ADVENTURE (sb.), fortune, luck; 5. 5. 22

ADVICE, prudence, judgment; 3. 4. 11

ADVISED, (i) 'be well advised' = take thought; 3. 1. 5; (ii) well considered; 4. 2. 214

AERY, nest of a bird of prey; 5. 2. 149

AFFECT, take after, suggest; 1. 1. 86

AFFECTION, emotion, passion; 5. 2. 41

AGUE, malarial fever, especially the cold or shivering stage of an attack; 3. 4. 85

ALCIDES, Hercules; 2. 1. 144

ALMOST, even. 'Used to intensify a rhetorical interrogative' (O.E.D.), but also in other connexions (cf. *Temp.* 3. 3. 34; *Cor.* 1. 2. 24); 4. 3. 43

ALOFT (prep.), above (cf. 2 *Hen.VI.* 5. 1. 204; but not found elsewhere in Sh.); 4. 2. 139

AMAZED, stunned, confused; 2. 1. 226, 356; 4. 2. 137; 4. 3. 140

AMAZEMENT, bewilderment, distraction; 5. 1. 35

AMIABLE, lovable, worthy to be loved; 3. 4. 25

ANATOMY, skeleton (here personifying death); 3. 4. 40

ANGEL, a golden coin worth 10s., so called because one side represented the archangel Michael slaying the dragon; 2. 1. 590; 3. 3. 9

ANGERLY, with anger or resentment; 4. 1. 82

ANSWER (vb.), account for or atone for; 4. 2. 89

APISH, ape-like in manner, foolish; 5. 2. 131

APPARENT, manifest; 4. 2. 93

APPOINTMENT, equipment; 2. 1. 296

APT, ready and willing; 4. 2. 226

ARMADO, a fleet of warships; 3. 4. 2

ARRAS, the hangings of a room (they hung loose upon the wall so that there was space for a person to hide behind them as Polonius does in *Ham.* 4. 2); 4. 1. 2

ARTICLE, 'each of two distinct charges, or counts, of an accusation or indictment' (O.E.D.); 2. 1. 111

ARTIFICER, artisan; 4. 2. 201

ASSURANCE. Legal: the securing of a title to property, hence title or claim to anything; 2. 1. 471

ASSURED, (a) sure, (b) betrothed (cf. *Err.* 3. 2. 140 'I was assured to her'); 2. 1. 534, 535

ATÉ, the goddess of discord or mischief; 2. 1. 63

AVAUNT, lit. forward! hence begone! away! 4. 3. 77

AWELESS, fearless; 1. 1. 266

BABE, doll (cf. *Macb.* 3. 4. 106 'a baby of a girl'); 3. 4. 58

BANK (vb.), to skirt, sail past (v. note); 5. 2. 104

BASILISCO-LIKE, (v. note); 1. 1. 244

BASTINADO, beating, cudgelling; 2. 1. 463

BATED, lowered, abated; 5. 4. 53

BATTLE, an army in battle array; 4. 2. 78

BEADLE, a parish officer, whose duty it was to whip malefactors; 2. 1. 188

BEAR, carry out, execute; 3. 4. 149; 4. 2. 101

BEAT, drive back; 2. 1. 88

BECOME, (i) to befit; 2. 1. 141; (ii) to adorn, grace; 5. 1. 55

BEDLAM, lit. an inmate of Bethlehem Hospital for the insane, hence a lunatic; 2. 1. 183

BEFOREHAND (to be), to have money in hand, to draw money in advance (O.E.D. 1d); 5. 7. 111

BEHAVIOUR, 'person'; 1. 1. 3

BEHOLDING, indebted, obliged; 1. 1. 239

BELDAM, old woman; 4. 2. 185

BENT, (i) aimed (borr. from archers, cf. 3 *Hen. VI*, 5. 1. 87; *Rich. III*, 1. 2. 95); 2. 1. 37; (ii) inclined; 2. 1. 422

BEQUEATH, bestow, give; 1. 1. 149; 5. 7. 104

BESHREW, a curse upon; 5. 4. 49

BESTOW ONESELF, conduct oneself; 3. 1. 225

BIAS, anything that causes something to turn or swerve from its direct course (a term of bowls); 2. 1. 574

BLOOD, (a) man of spirit, (b) stock; 2. 1. 278, 461

BLOODY, containing blood; 4. 2. 210

BLOT (sb.), blemish; 3. 1. 45

BLOT (vb.), calumniate, 'throw mud at' (Onions); 2. 1. 132

BOISTEROUS, painfully rough; 4. 1. 95

BOTTOM, a ship; 2. 1. 73

BOUGHT AND SOLD, betrayed; 5. 4. 10

BOUNCE (sb.), bang; 2. 1. 462

BOUND, enclose, confine; 2. 1. 431, 442

BOUNDEN, under obligation, indebted; 3. 3. 29

BRABBLER, brawler; 5. 2. 162

BRACED, stretched, made tense; 5. 2. 169

BRAVE (sb.), bravado; 5. 2. 159

BRAVE (vb.), (a) defy, (b) make a brave show upon; 5. 1. 70

BRAVELY, finely, splendidly; 5. 5. 4

BRAWL DOWN, to force down by brawling or noisy disturbance; 2. 1. 383

BREACH, rent, tear; 4. 2. 32

BREAK OUT, escape; 5. 6. 24

BREAK WITH, communicate with, confide in; 4. 2. 227

BREAKING, escaping; 5. 6. 14

BREATHE, utter; 3. 1. 256; 4. 2. 36

BREED (vb.), to be in the womb of the future; 3. 4. 170

BRIEF (sb.), note, summary, abstract; 2. 1. 103

BRIEF IN HAND, shortly to be dispatched (cf. *Rom.* 3. 3. 174 'brief to part'); 4. 3. 158

BROAD-EYED, all-seeing (v. note); 3. 3. 52

BROKER, a go-between; 2. 1. 568

BUSS, to kiss (v. note); 3. 4. 35

CALL (sb.), lit. the cry of a decoy bird, (hence) the decoy itself; 3. 4. 174

CANKER, ulcer; 5. 2. 14; 'canker-sorrow,' sorrow like a canker worm; 3. 4. 82

CANKERED, malignant, spiteful; 2. 1. 194

CANON OF THE LAW, decree of God's law; 2. 1. 180

CAPABLE OF, impressible by, susceptible to; 2. 1. 476; 3. 1. 12

CARRIAGES, baggage, the portable equipment of an army; 5. 7. 90

CAUSE, quarrel; 3. 4. 12; 5. 2. 30

CENSURE (vb.), judge, estimate; 2. 1. 328

CENTURE, cincture, girdle (v. note); 4. 3. 155

CHAP, jaw; 2. 1. 352

CHECK (vb.), control, hold in check; 2. 1. 123

CHOICE, a picked company; 2. 1. 72

CHRISTENDOM (by my), lit. by my baptism, (hence) = as I am a Christian; 4. 1. 16

CHURLISH, (i) niggardly; 2. 1. 519; (ii) rude; 2. 1. 76; 3. 1. 303

CIRCUMSTANCE, detail, beating about the bush (cf. *Ham.* 1. 5. 127); 2. 1. 77

CLAP UP, conclude a bargain by clasping hands (cf. *Shrew.* 2. 1. 318 'Was ever match clapped up so suddenly?'); 3. 1. 235

CLEARLY, 'without obstruction from the enemy' (Collier; cf. O.E.D. 'clear' a 18); 5. 5. 7

CLIMATE, region of the sky; 2. 1. 344

CLIP, to clasp, encompass; 5. 2. 34

CLOSE (adj.), secret; 4. 2. 72

CLOSELY, secretly; 4. 1. 133

CLOUT, cloth, rag; 3. 4. 58

CLUTCH, clench (cf. *Meas.* 3. 2. 47); 2. 1. 589

COCKERED, pampered; 5. 1. 70

COIL (sb.), turmoil, fuss; 2. 1. 165

COLBRAND, a Danish giant defeated by Guy of Warwick; 1. 1. 225

COLD, dead; 3. 1. 105

COLDLY, calmly (cf. *Ado.* 3. 2. 121 'Bear it coldly but till midnight'); 2. 1. 53

COME IN, submit (O.E.D. 'come' 59f. quotes Spenser, *State of Ireland*, 'to come in and submitt himselfe to her Majestie'); 5. 2. 70

COME OFF, leave the field of battle. Gen. in a good sense in Sh. (cf. *Cor.* 1. 6. 1 'We are come off like Romans' etc.); 5. 5. 4

COMMODITY, self-interest, expediency; 2. 1. 573

COMMON, not royal (although belonging to the nobility); 3. 1. 8

COMPANIES = company; 4. 2. 167

COMPOSITION, (i) frame, physical make-up (cf. *Rich. II.* 2. 1. 73 'Oh how that name befits my composition; Old Gaunt indeed'); 1. 1. 88; (ii) the settling of a disagreement by mutual arrangement and concession; 2. 1. 561

COMPOUND (vb.), to settle by mutual agreement; 2. 1. 281

CONCEIT, understanding; 3. 3. 50



- CONCLUDE, be conclusive, settle a question (cf. *L.L.L.* 4. 2. 170 'the text most infallibly concludes it'); 1. 1. 127
- CONDUCT (sb.), (i) escort; 1. 1. 29; (ii) command, 4. 2. 129
- CONFINE (sb.), territory within frontiers; 4. 2. 246
- CONFOUND, ruin, bring to nought, nullify; 4. 2. 29; 5. 7. 20, 58
- CONFUSION, annihilation, destruction; 2. 1. 359; 4. 3. 152
- CONJUNCTION, union in marriage (*O.E.D.* 2); 2. 1. 468
- CONJURE, to entreat, beseech; 4. 2. 269
- CONSCIENCE, 'a matter of conscience; something about which scruples are or should be felt' (*O.E.D.*); 4. 2. 229
- CONTAGIOUS, foul, noisome, pestilential; 5. 4. 33
- CONTENT (adj.), quiet, not uneasy; 3. 1. 42
- CONTROL, CONTROLMENT, restraint, compulsion; 1. 1. 17, 20; 5. 2. 80
- CONVERSION, change in status, elevation in rank; 1. 1. 189
- CONVERTITE, convert (to an approved course); 5. 1. 19
- CONVICTED, vanquished; 3. 4. 2
- COOP (vb.), enclose for protection or defence (*v. O.E.D.* 2); 2. 1. 25
- COPY, pattern, example; 4. 2. 113
- CORRECT, punish; 2. 1. 87
- CORRUPTIBLY, so as to be corrupted, subject to dissolution; 5. 7. 2.
- COUNTERFEIT, a false coin; 3. 1. 99
- COUNTY, count, earl (*v. note*); 5. 1. 8
- COUSIN, kinsman; 3. 1. 339
- COVETOUSNESS, inordinate ambition to do well; 4. 2. 29
- CRACKER, (a) boaster, braggart, b) firecracker; 2. 1. 147
- CREATE = created; 4. 1. 107
- CRY AIM, encourage, applaud, abet. A term of archery (cf. *M.W.W.* 3. 2. 40); 2. 1. 196
- CRY OUT UPON, to exclaim against; 5. 2. 19
- CULL, to choose, select; 2. 1. 40, 391; 5. 2. 114
- DATE (sb.), duration, term (cf. *Son.* 18. 4 'all too short a date'); 4. 3. 106
- DEAD, deadly; 5. 7. 65
- DEAR, heavy, grievous; 1. 1. 257
- DECAY, destruction, downfall; 1. 1. 28
- DECEIT, being deceived; 1. 1. 215
- DEFY, reject, disdain; 3. 4. 23
- DENOUNCE, (i) pronounce, promulgate; 3. 1. 319; (ii) proclaim; 3. 4. 159
- DEPART WITH, part with, give up; 2. 1. 563
- DIFFERENCE, (a) disagreement, quarrel; (b) a mark of distinction in heraldry; 3. 1. 238
- DIFFIDENCE, mistrust, doubt; 1. 1. 65
- DIM, dull, lustreless, pale; 3. 4. 85
- DISCIPLINE, skill in military affairs; 2. 1. 39, 261, 413
- DISHABIT, to dislodge; 2. 1. 220
- DISPATCH, to make haste; 4. 1. 27
- DISPITIOUS, pitiless; 4. 1. 34
- DISPOSE (sb.), disposal; 1. 1. 263
- DISPOSE (vb.), regulate, govern; 3. 4. 11
- DISTEMPERED, (i) inclement; 3. 4. 154; (ii) vexed, angry; 4. 3. 21
- DIVINELY, in a holy or pious manner; 2. 1. 237
- DOGGED, currish, malicious; 4. 1. 129; 4. 3. 149
- DOMINATION, dominion; 2. 1. 176
- DOUBT (vb.), fear; 4. 1. 19; 4. 2. 102; 5. 6. 44



DOUBTFUL, full of fear, apprehensive; 5. 1. 36

DOUBTLESS, free from apprehension; 4. 1. 130

X DRAW, (i) draw out, expand; 2. 1. 103; (ii) collect; 4. 2. 118; 5. 2. 113

X DRAWN, disembowelled (a quibble); 2. 1. 504

X DRIFT (sb.), shower, driving storm; 2. 1. 412.

DUB, to confer knighthood by striking the shoulder with a sword; 1. 1. 245

DUST, grain of dust; 3. 4. 128; 4. 1. 93

EASY, (i) ready; 1. 1. 36; (ii) slight; 3. 1. 207

EFFECT (sb.), purport, meaning; 4. 1. 38

X ELSE, otherwise; 2. 1. 276; 4. 1. 108

EMBASSY, ambassadorial mission or message (cf. *Hen. V*, 1. 1. 95); 1. 1. 6, 99

EMBATTLED, drawn up in battle array; 4. 2. 200

EMBOUNDED, confined, contained; 4. 3. 137

X ENDAMAGEMENT, injury, harm; 2. 1. 209

ENVENOM, lit. to poison, hence to treat with venom or bitterness; 3. 1. 63

ESTATE, power, authority; 4. 2. 128

ETERNAL, immortal; 3. 4. 18

EVEN, just; 3. 1. 233; 5. 2. 169; 5. 7. 12

EXAMPLE, parallel, precedent; 3. 4. 13

EXAMPLED BY, having as precedent; 4. 3. 56

EXCLAMATION, clamour, loud complaint; 2. 1. 558

EXERCISE (sb.), training, practice of manly accomplishments; 4. 2. 60

EXHALATION, meteor; 3. 4. 153

EXPEDIENT, speedy; 2. 1. 60, 223; 4. 2. 268

EXPEDITION, speed; 2. 1. 79

EXTEND, graciously show (like royalty); 4. 1. 120

EXTREME (sb.), great distress caused by cruelty or sickness; 4. 1. 108; 5. 7. 13

FAIR FALL, may good befall; 1. 1. 78

FAIR-PLAY, pertaining to the laws of chivalry, equitable conditions or conduct; 5. 1. 67; 5. 2. 118

FAITH, loyalty; 5. 7. 75

FALL FROM, to forsake; 3. 1. 320

FALL OFF, to withdraw from allegiance; 5. 5. 11

FALL OVER, to go over, desert; 3. 1. 127

FANTASIED, filled with fancies; 4. 2. 144

FARE (sb.), (a) condition, state, (b) food; 5. 7. 35

FAST AND LOOSE, a cheating game played by gipsies who beguiled simple folk of their money by getting them to bet whether a knot in a leather belt or kerchief was fast or loose (cf. *A. & C.* 4. 12. 28); 3. 1. 242

FAVOUR (sb.), appearance; 5. 4. 50

FEARFUL, full of fear; 4. 2. 106

FEARFULLY, with fear; 4. 2. 74

FEATURE, shape or proportions of the body; 2. 1. 126; 4. 2. 264

FELL (adj.), (i) fierce, ruthless; 3. 4. 40; (ii) deadly; 5. 7. 9

FENCE (sb.), skill with the sword; 2. 1. 290

FETCH ABOUT, change the course of a ship to the other tack; 4. 2. 24

- FIGURE (sb.), shape; 5. 4. 25  
 FIGURE (vb.), paint or engrave with figures; 5. 2. 53  
 FINE, (a) penalty, or sum paid as penalty for an offence, (b) end; 5. 4. 37, 38  
 FLEET (vb.), pass away from the body (cf. *M.V.* 4. 1. 135); 2. 1. 285  
 FLESH (vb.), lit. render an animal eager for prey by the taste of blood, (hence) initiate or inure to bloodshed (v. note); 5. 1. 71  
 FLOOD, sea; 3. 4. 1  
 FOND, enamoured; 3. 4. 92  
 FONDLY, foolishly; 2. 1. 258  
 FOOT, footing, status (O.E.D. 'foot' 24); 1. 1. 182  
 FORAGE (vb.), (a) raven, rove in search of prey (of a lion; cf. *L.L.L.* 4. 1. 90; *V.A.* 554; *Hen. V.* 1. 2. 109-10 'to behold his lion's whelp Forage in blood of French nobility'); (b) here, to go in search of the enemy; 5. 1. 59  
 FORCE PERFORCE, by violent means; 3. 1. 142  
 FORCED, involuntary, imposed by force; 4. 2. 98  
 FORETHOUGHT, predestined; 3. 1. 312  
 FORM (sb.), (i) due shape, order; 3. 4. 101; (ii) image; 4. 2. 256; 5. 7. 32  
 FORWEARY (vb.), tire out; 2. 1. 233  
 FROM, clear of; 4. 1. 86; 'from forth,' out of; 5. 4. 45  
 FRONT (sb.), forehead, face, here used for the whole person; 2. 1. 356  
 FULSOME, offensive, physically disgusting; 3. 4. 32  
 GALL (vb.), wound, scratch; 4. 3. 94  
 GAP OF BREATH, mouth; 3. 4. 32  
 GAWDS, toys; 3. 3. 36  
 GENERAL (adj.), comprehensive, far-reaching; 4. 3. 17  
 GET, to be begotten; 1. 1. 259  
 GIDDY, crazy; 3. 1. 292  
 GILT, smeared (as with gold paint); 2. 1. 316  
 GIVE OFF, relinquish; 5. 1. 27  
 GIVE US LEAVE. A polite way of asking to be left alone (cf. *Ham.* 2. 2. 170, note); 1. 1. 230  
 GIVE WAY, allow precedence, permit to pass (cf. *Ham.* 4. 6. 37; *Temp.* 1. 2. 185-6); 1. 1. 156; 2. 1. 324  
 GLISTER, to glitter, sparkle; 5. 1. 54  
 GO TO, come, come! (an exclamation expressing remonstrance); 4. 1. 97  
 GOD-A-MERCY = God reward you. An expression of thanks commonly used in reply to an enquiry after one's health by an inferior (Onions); 1. 1. 185  
 GOOD DEN = good even. A form of salutation used at any time after noon; 1. 1. 185  
 GOODS = good, well-being; 4. 2. 64  
 GRACIOUS, endowed with divine grace; 3. 4. 81  
 GREEN (sb.), grassy ground; 2. 1. 242  
 GRIEF, (a) grievance, (b) sorrow; 4. 3. 29, 30  
 GRIM, hard featured; 3. 1. 43  
 GROAT, thin silver fourpenny piece (cf. note 1. 1. 142-3); 1. 1. 94  
 GROSSLY, (i) with want of clear perception, stupidly; 3. 1. 163; (ii) flagrantly; 4. 2. 94  
 GUARD (vb.), to ornament, lit. to face with trimmings (cf. *M.V.* 2. 2. 154; *Ado.* 1. 1. 269); 4. 2. 10

- HALF-FACE**, profile. Cf. Harrington, *Oceana* (ed. 1771, p. 28) 'Unless we would draw him with a half-face.' Commonly used in reference to coins; 1. 1. 92
- HALTING**, wavering, shifting (cf. 1 *Kings* xviii. 21); 5. 2. 174
- HARBOURAGE**, shelter; 2. 1. 234
- HARNESSED**, in armour; 5. 2. 132
- HATCH** (sb.), a half-door, the lower half of a divided door; 1. 1. 171; 'take the hatch,' to leap over the hatch; 5. 2. 138
- HAVE IN REST**, to possess quietly (v. O.E.D. 'rest' sb. 1. 4c); 4. 2. 55
- HAVOC**, 'cry havoc' = give the signal for indiscriminate slaughter (cf. *Ham.* G. 'havoc'); 2. 1. 357
- HAZARDS** (on the), among the chances; 1. 1. 119
- HEAD** (sb.), army, raised force; 3. 1. 193 (quibblingly); 5. 2. 113
- HEAT** = heated; 4. 1. 61
- HEAVY**, wicked (cf. *Ham.* 4. 1. 12 'O, heavy deed'); 4. 3. 58
- HEINOUS**, (i) grievous, severe; 3. 4. 90; (ii) infamous, atrocious; 4. 2. 71; 4. 3. 56
- HENCE**, in the next world (cf. *Ham.* 3. 2. 221 'Both here and hence'); 4. 2. 89; 5. 2. 29
- HIGH TIDE**, high day, festival; 3. 1. 86
- HOLD** (sb.), stronghold; 5. 7. 19
- HOLD HAND WITH**, be on equality with, match (O.E.D. on this passage); 2. 1. 494
- HOLD IN CHASE**, pursue (a hunting term); 1. 1. 223
- HOLP**, helped; 1. 1. 240
- HUMOROUS**, fickle; 3. 1. 119
- HUMOUR**, (i) disposition, temperament; 'unsettled humours' = restless, dissatisfied men; 2. 1. 66; (ii) (a) mood, (b) physio-logical humour (v. note); 4. 2. 209; 5. 1. 12; (iii) caprice; 4. 2. 214
- HURLY**, commotion; 3. 4. 169
- IDIOT**, jester, professional fool; 3. 3. 45
- IDLE**, crazy, mad; 5. 7. 4
- IDLY**, (i) by chance; 4. 2. 124; (ii) carelessly, indolently; 5. 1. 72
- IMAGINARY**, imaginative; 4. 2. 265
- IMPORTANCE**, importunity; 2. 1. 7
- INDENTURE**, contract, mutual engagement; 2. 1. 20
- INDIFFERENCY**, impartiality, equity; 2. 1. 579
- INDIGEST** (sb.), a shapeless mass; 5. 7. 26
- INDIRECTION**, a crooked course (cf. *Ham.* 2. 1. 63); 3. 1. 276
- INDIRECTLY**, wrongfully (cf. *Hen. V.* 2. 4. 94); 2. 1. 49
- INDUE**, to supply (with); 4. 2. 43
- INDUSTRIOUS**, of set purpose, deliberate (v. note); 2. 1. 376
- INFECT**, to affect, imbue; 4. 3. 69
- INFER**, prove, demonstrate (cf. 2 *Hen. IV.* 5. 5. 14); 3. 1. 213
- INFORTUNATE** = unfortunate; 2. 1. 178
- INGRATE**, ungrateful, thankless; 5. 2. 151
- INTELLIGENCE**, secret service; 4. 2. 116
- INTEREST**, right, title (cf. 1 *Hen. IV.* 3. 2. 98 'interest to the state'); 4. 3. 147; 5. 2. 89
- INTERROGATORIES**, questions put to a witness under oath to answer truthfully; 3. 1. 147
- INTERRUPTION**, hindrance, obstruction; 3. 4. 9
- INVASIVE**, invading; 5. 1. 69
- JADE**, a sorry creature; 2. 1. 385
- JUST-BORNE**, justly borne; 2. 1. 345



KEEP (vb.), occupy (cf. 'keep' = lodge, in mod. Oxford or Cambridge); 3. 3. 45

KNOW, recognize; 2. 1. 364; 3. 4. 77, 88; 5. 2. 88

LAMENTABLE, expressing sorrow; 3. 1. 22

LEGITIMATION, legitimacy; 1. 1. 248

LEISURE (to stay one's), to wait until he is unoccupied, here to wait until the winds are idle; 2. 1. 58; 'at leisure,' without haste, not immediately; 5. 6. 27

LIABLE, (i) subject; 2. 1. 490; 5. 2. 101; (ii) suitable, apt (cf. *L.L.L.* 5. 1. 88-9 'The posterior of the day... is liable, congruent, and measurable for the afternoon'); 4. 2. 226

LIE ON, belong to, be incident to; 1. 1. 119

LIEN = lain; 4. 1. 50

LIEU OF (in), in return for; 5. 4. 44

LIKE (adj.), likely, probable; 3. 4. 49

LIKE (vb.), please; 2. 1. 533

LIMIT (vb.), to appoint, specify; 5. 2. 123

LINE (vb.), (a) furnish a lining to, (b) reinforce; 2. 1. 352

LINEAL, by right of descent (v. note); 2. 1. 85

LOVE (sb.), act of kindness; 4. 1. 49

LOVELY, lovable; 3. 4. 25

LUSTY, (i) cheerful, vigorous; 1. 1. 108; (ii) insolent, arrogant; 5. 2. 117

MAID, daughter; 5. 2. 154

MAIDEN (adj.), unstained with blood (by analogy with 'maiden sword' e.g. 1 *Hen. IV*, 5. 4. 134); 4. 2. 252

MAIN, ocean; 2. 1. 26

MAKE A HAZARD, to take a chance or try (at); 2. 1. 71

MAKE A STAND AT, to pause, stop short at; 4. 2. 39

MAKE NICE OF, to scruple to use; 3. 4. 138

MAKE UP, to advance (O.E.D. 96n); 3. 2. 5

MAKE WORK, make slaughter; 2. 1. 407

MALICIOUS, fierce (v. O.E.D. 2b); 2. 1. 314

MAN OF COUNTRIES, traveller; 1. 1. 193

MANAGE (sb.), government, administration (cf. *M.V.* 3. 4. 25 'the manage of my house'); 1. 1. 37

MATTER, (a) fuel (cf. *V.A.* 1162 'As dry combustious matter is to fire'), (b) arguments; 5. 2. 85

MAW, throat or stomach; 5. 7. 37

MEASURE (sb.), music accompanying a stately dance; 3. 1. 304

MEDICINE, remedy, curative treatment of any kind (cf. *Lear*, 4. 7. 26-7 'Restoration hang Thy medicine on my lips'); 5. 1. 15

MESS, originally a group of four persons dining from the same dishes, hence 'table'; 1. 1. 190

METEOR. Often = 'any atmospheric phenomenon,' but here clearly refers to meteors or comets (cf. *Rich. II*, 2. 4. 9 'And meteors fright the fixed stars of heaven'); 3. 4. 157

METROPOLIS, the seat of a metropolitan bishop, that is, a bishop having the oversight of the bishops of a province; 5. 2. 72

MEW UP, to confine, conceal. A mew was a cage for hawks; 4. 2. 57



- MINION**, darling, favourite (cf. I *Hen. IV*, 1. 1. 83 'sweet Fortune's minion'); 2. 1. 392  
**MISPLACED**, occupying a wrong place, (here) usurping; 3. 4. 133  
**MISTEMPERED**, disordered, deranged; 5. 1. 12  
**MODERN**, ordinary, commonplace; 3. 4. 42  
**MODULE**, a mere image or counterfeit; 5. 7. 58  
**MOE** = more; 5. 4. 17  
**MORE** (adj.), greater; 2. 1. 34  
**MORTAL**, deadly; 3. 1. 259  
**MORTALITY**, (i) death; 4. 2. 82; (ii) life; 5. 7. 5  
**MOTION**, impulse, inclination; 1. 1. 212; 4. 2. 255  
**MOUSE** (vb.), worry as a cat does a mouse, tear, bite; 2. 1. 354  
**MUSE** (vb.), wonder, feel surprise (cf. *Macb.* 3. 4. 85 'Do not muse at me,'); 3. 1. 317  
**MUTINE**, mutineer; 2. 1. 378  
**NATURE**, natural affection, humanity (cf. *Ham. G.*); 4. 2. 256  
**NO HAD** = had not; 4. 2. 207  
**NUMBER**, item in a list; 2. 1. 347  
**OBSERVATION**, obsequiousness, paying court (cf. *Ham.* 3. 1. 157 'the observed of all observers'); 1. 1. 208  
**OCCASION** (sb.), (i) emergency; 2. 1. 82; (ii) course of events; 4. 2. 125; (iii) theme, argument; 4. 2. 62  
**OFFENCE**, resentment; 3. 4. 180  
**OFFEND**, harm; 3. 3. 65; 4. 1. 132  
**OFFER** (vb.), to attempt to inflict an injury, to essay, dare (v. O.E.D. 5); 4. 2. 94  
**ONCE**, in short (cf. *Cor.* 2. 3. 1 'Once, if he do require our voices'); 1. 1. 74  
**OR ERE**, before; 4. 3. 20  
**ORDER** (sb.), arrangement, conditions; 5. 1. 67; 5. 2. 4  
**OUTFACE**, browbeat, intimidate; 2. 1. 97; 5. 1. 49  
**OUTLOOK**, overcome by looking, stare down; 5. 2. 115  
**OVERLOOK**, to look over, survey; 2. 1. 344  
**OVERTHROW** (sb.), destruction of body or mind (cf. O.E.D. 4); 5. 1. 16  
**OWE**, to own, be the owner of; 2. 1. 109, 248; 4. 1. 123 (with a quibble on 'owe' to be in debt); 4. 2. 99  
**PAINFULLY**, laboriously; 2. 1. 223  
**PAINTED**, fictitious, unreal (cf. *Rich. III*, 1. 3. 241 'Poor painted queen'); 3. 1. 105  
**PARLE**, a conference under a truce; 2. 1. 205, 226  
**PARLEY**, to confer, treat; 4. 2. 238  
**PART** = party; 2. 1. 359; 5. 6. 2  
**PARTS**, abilities, talents; 3. 4. 96  
**PARTY**, part, behalf; 1. 1. 34; 3. 1. 123  
**PASS** (vb.), neglect, leave unnoticed; 2. 1. 258  
**PASSION**, emotion, emotional state; 3. 3. 47  
**PASSIONATE**, grieved, sorrowful; 2. 1. 544  
**PATTERN**, precedent; 3. 4. 16  
**PAWN** (sb.), pledge; 5. 2. 141  
**PEER O'ER** (vb.), tower above, look down upon (cf. 'overpeer' *Ham.* 4. 5. 99, *M.V.* 1. 1. 12); 3. 1. 23  
**PEEVISH**, perverse, obstinate; 2. 1. 402  
**PEISED**, poised, balanced; 2. 1. 575  
**PELL-MELL**, at close quarters, hand to hand; 2. 1. 406  
**PENCIL**, paint-brush (cf. *L.L.L.* 5. 2. 43); 3. 1. 237

- PEREMPTORY, determined; 2. 1. 454
- PERFECT (adj.), without fault, correct; 5. 6. 6
- PHILOSOPHY, natural philosophy, science (v. O.E.D. 3); 3. 4. 51
- PICKED, (a) who has picked his teeth, (b) exquisite, dandified; 1. 1. 193
- PLANK, ? floor (v. note); 5. 2. 140
- PLOT (sb.), (i) spot, piece of ground (cf. *M.N.D.* 3. 1. 3 'This green plot'); 2. 1. 40; (ii) 'lay a plot,' prepare a plan; 3. 4. 146
- PLUCK ON, to draw on, incite; 3. 1. 57
- POLICY, diplomacy, political sagacity; 2. 1. 396
- POTENT (sb.), potentate, power; 2. 1. 358
- PRACTICE, scheming, machination; 4. 3. 63
- PRACTISE, to plan, scheme, intend; 4. 1. 20
- PRATE (sb.), prattle; 4. 1. 25
- PRECEDENT, the original from which a copy is made; 5. 2. 3
- PREPARATION, an armed force for attack or defence, an armament; 4. 2. 111
- PRESENTLY, immediately; 2. 1. 538
- PRIVATE (sb.), ? a confidential communication (v. note); 4. 3. 16
- PRODIGIOUS, monstrous; 3. 1. 46
- PRODIGIOUSLY, ominously; 3. 1. 91
- PRODUCE (vb.), present. Legal word; 1. 1. 46
- PROMOTION, preferment, office of distinction (cf. *Rich. III.* 1. 3. 80); 2. 1. 492
- PROPER, handsome, well-made; 1. 1. 250
- PROPERLY, exactly, in accordance with fact (O.E.D. 2); 2. 1. 514
- PROPERTY (vb.), make a tool of, use as a chattel (cf. *Tw. Nt.* 4. 2. 92; *Tim.* 1. 1. 57); 5. 2. 79
- PROVOKE, urge on; 4. 2. 207
- PUISSANCE, an armed force; 3. 1. 339
- PURE, clear; 5. 7. 2
- PUT O'ER, to refer; 1. 1. 62
- PYRENEAN, the Pyrenees; 1. 1. 203
- QUALIFY, to moderate, mitigate; 5. 1. 13
- QUANTITY, fragment (cf. *Shrew.* 4. 3. 112 'thou quantity, thou remnant'); 5. 4. 23
- QUARTER, (keep good), to keep good watch (cf. 1 *Hen. VI.* 2. 1. 63; *Err.* 2. 1. 108); 5. 5. 20
- QUOTED, written down, noted; 4. 2. 222
- RAGE (sb.), madness; 4. 3. 49
- RAGE (vb.), to rave; 5. 7. 11
- RAM UP, to block up; 2. 1. 272
- RAMPING, violent, extravagant; 3. 1. 122
- RANKED, drawn up in ranks; 4. 2. 200
- RANKNESS, headstrong or rebellious course (also used of a river in spate in *V.A.* 71); 5. 4. 54
- RATED, (a) assessed, (b) estimated at its true value, exposed; 5. 4. 37
- REASON (vb.), speak (cf. *M.V.* 2. 8. 27); 4. 3. 29
- REBUKE (vb.), to check, repress; 2. 1. 9
- REDRESS, 'remedy for, or relief from, some trouble' (O.E.D.); 3. 4. 24
- REFUSE (vb.), to disclaim, disown (cf. *Ado.* 4. 1. 183); 1. 1. 127
- REGREET (sb.), a (return) salutation; 3. 1. 241
- RELIGIOUSLY, (i) piously, in accordance with the principles of religion; 2. 1. 246; (ii) solemnly, ceremoniously; 3. 1. 140;

- (iii) faithfully, scrupulously (perhaps with some sense of (i)); 4. 3. 73
- REMEMBER, remind; 3. 4. 96
- REMORSE, compassion, pity; 2. 1. 478; 4. 3. 50, 110
- REPAIR (sb.), restoration to a sound condition; 3. 4. 113
- RESOLVE (vb.), (i) to dissipate, dispel; 2. 1. 371; (ii) to melt, dissolve; 5. 4. 25
- RESOLVED, resolute, determined; 5. 6. 29
- RESPECT (sb.), (i) a consideration, something taken into account; 3. 1. 318; 5. 4. 41; (ii) regard, esteem; 3. 3. 28; 5. 2. 44; (iii) view, opinion; 3. 4. 90; (iv) consideration, reflexion; 4. 2. 214; (v) self-respect; 5. 7. 85
- RESPECTIVE, respectful; 1. 1. 188
- RETIRE (sb.), retreat; 2. 1. 253, 326; 5. 5. 4
- REVOLT (sb.), a rebel; 5. 2. 151; 5. 4. 7
- RHEUM, tears; 3. 1. 22; 4. 1. 33
- RIDING-ROD, a thin switch or stick used in riding; 1. 1. 140
- RIGHT (adv.), (i) properly; 2. 1. 139; 3. 1. 183; (ii) clearly; 5. 4. 60
- RIGHT (sb.), right way, straight road; 1. 1. 170
- ROBE, an enveloping garment, here used for skin; 2. 1. 141
- ROUND (vb.), to whisper; 2. 1. 566
- ROUNDURE, circuit; 2. 1. 259
- RUB (sb.), obstacle, hindrance. A term from the game of bowls; 3. 4. 128
- RUDE, (i) violent, barbarous; 4. 2. 240; 5. 4. 11; (ii) crude; 5. 7. 27
- RUMOUR, clamour, tumult; 5. 4. 45
- SAFETY, custody; 4. 2. 158
- SANS, without; 5. 6. 16
- SCAMBLE, to struggle (in order to get something), scramble; 4. 3. 146
- SCATH, harm; 2. 1. 75
- SCOPE, an instance of liberty or licence (v. note and O.E.D. 7 b); 3. 4. 154
- SCORN AT, to treat with ridicule, mock; 1. 1. 228
- SCROYLE, scoundrel, wretch. 'The conjecture that it is adopted from O.F. *escroele*, scrofulous sore, is not quite satisfactory as to form, and the assumed development of sense, though plausible, has no evidence' (O.E.D.); 2. 1. 373
- SECONDARY (sb.), a subordinate; 5. 2. 80
- SECURELY, confidently, without apprehension; 2. 1. 374
- SEIZURE, grasp, hand-clasp; 3. 1. 241
- SEMBLANCE, appearance or outward seeming; 4. 3. 4
- SET (sb.), the number of points required to win a game or match (cf. *Tit. And.* 5. 1. 100 'As sure a card as ever won the set'); 5. 2. 107
- SET (vb.), to close; 5. 7. 51
- SET APART, set aside, repudiate; 3. 1. 159
- SHADOW (sb.), reflexion (cf. *V.A.* 162 'his shadow in the brook'); 2. 1. 498
- SHADOW (vb.), shelter, protect; 2. 1. 14
- SHOCK (vb.), to throw troops into confusion. O.E.D. vb.<sup>2</sup> 3 quotes Grafton, *Chron.* II, 1364 (1568) 'The Countie Egmond...re-charged...so terribly that he shokt all their battayle'; 5. 7. 117
- SHREWD, evil, bad (cf. *M.V.* 3. 2. 244 'shrewd contents'); 5. 5. 14



SHROUD, sail-rope; 5. 7. 53  
 SIGHTLESS, unsightly; 3. 1. 45  
 SIGHTLY, pleasing to the sight;  
 2. 1. 143

SIGNED, marked out. Onions  
 suggests that it may be an  
 aphetic form of 'assigned';  
 4. 2. 222

SINEWED, strengthened; 5. 7. 88

SIR NOB (v. note); 1. 1. 147

SKIN-COAT, (a) coat made of (lion's)  
 skin, (b) his own skin; 2. 1. 139

SLANDEROUS, discreditable; 3. 1. 44

SMOKE ONE'S SKIN-COAT, give one  
 a sound basting; 2. 1. 139

SOCIABLE, affable, companionable;  
 1. 1. 188; 3. 4. 65

SOLE, unique; 4. 3. 52

SOLEMNITY, wedding ceremony (cf.  
*M.N.D.* 1. 1. 11); 2. 1. 555

SOOTH, truth (Cf. *Kyd. S. Trag.*  
 3. 10. 19; *Nashe*, ii, 39); 4. 1. 29

SOOTHE UP, flatter; 3. 1. 121

SOUL-FEARING, inspiring fear in  
 the very soul; 2. 1. 383

SOUND (vb.), to utter, express (cf.  
*Lucr.* 717; *Rich. II*, 3. 4. 75);  
 4. 2. 48

SOUSE (vb.), to swoop upon. A  
 hawking term; 5. 2. 150

SPARKLE (vb.), to send out sparks;  
 4. 1. 115

SPEED (vb.), (a) to prosper, (b) to  
 go with speed; 4. 2. 141

SPIKE (in spite of), in spite of  
 everything, do what we can;  
 5. 4. 5

SPLEEN, (i) the organ itself, re-  
 garded as the seat of ill-temper;  
 2. 1. 68; (ii) eagerness; 2. 1. 448  
 (v. note); 5. 7. 50; (iii) hot and  
 hasty temper; 4. 3. 97

SPOT (sb.), disgrace; 5. 2. 30

SPRIGHTFUL, full of spirit; 4. 2.  
 177

STAFF, spear or lance; 2. 1. 318

STAND BY, to stand aside; 4. 3. 94  
 STARS, a person's fortune or des-  
 tiny, viewed as determined by  
 the stars; 3. 1. 126

STATE (sb.), (i) government as  
 embodied in the ruler; 2. 1. 97;  
 (ii) prince, ruler (cf. *Troil.*  
 4. 5. 65); 2. 1. 395; (iii) seat of  
 state; 3. 1. 70; (iv) pomp;  
 4. 3. 147

STAY (sb.), (i) (a) check, set-back,  
 (b) sudden check in horse riding  
 (v. note); 2. 1. 455; (ii) support;  
 5. 7. 68

STAY (vb.), (i) await; 2. 1. 58;  
 (ii) prop, hold up; 3. 4. 138;  
 5. 7. 55

STILL, constantly, always; 5. 7. 73;  
 'still and anon,' constantly from  
 time to time (O.E.D.); 4. 1. 47

STORED, stocked, supplied; 5. 4. 1

STRAIGHT, straightway; 2. 1. 149;  
 4. 3. 22

STRAIT (adj.), stingy, close; 5. 7. 42

STRANGER, alien, foreign; 5. 1. 11

STUDY (sb.), solicitous endeavour;  
 4. 2. 51

STUMBLING, that trips up or over-  
 throws (v. O.E.D. 'stumble'  
 (vb.) 4); 5. 5. 18

SUBJECTED, submissive, obedient,  
 perhaps with a play on being the  
 king's subject; 1. 1. 264

SUDDENLY, instantly (cf. *Ham.*  
 2. 2. 214); 5. 6. 30

SUGGESTION, incitement, tempta-  
 tion; 3. 1. 292; 4. 2. 166

SUPERNAL, 'that is above or on  
 high' (O.E.D.); 2. 1. 112

SUPPLY, a reinforcement of troops;  
 5. 3. 9; 5. 5. 12

SURETY, security; 5. 7. 68

SUSPIRE, to breathe; 3. 4. 80

SWART = swarthy; 3. 1. 46

SWAY (vb.), to rule; 2. 1. 344

SWINGE, to beat, flog; 2. 1. 288



- TABLE**, 'a board or other flat surface on which a picture is painted' (O.E.D.); 2. 1. 503
- TAKE A TRUCE**, make peace; 3. 1. 17
- TAKE HEAD**, to make a rush forward, start running; 2. 1. 579
- TAKE IT** (on his death), to affirm, swear (by his death); 1. 1. 110
- TAME TO**, submissive to; 4. 2. 262
- TARRE**, incite, provoke (to fight); 4. 1. 117
- TASK** (vb.), subject, compel; 3. 1. 148
- TASTE** (vb.), to act as taster, to certify the wholesomeness of food by tasting it; 5. 6. 28
- TATTERING**, ragged; 5. 5. 7
- TEMPORIZE**, come to terms; 5. 2. 125
- TENDER** (sb.), offer; 5. 7. 106
- TERRITORY**, dependency (v. note); 1. 1. 10
- THREE-FARTHINGS**, ? a paltry fellow (v. O.E.D.); 1. 1. 143
- THRILL**, shiver (cf. *Meas.* 3. 1. 122 'thrilling region of thick-ribbed ice'); 5. 2. 143
- TICKLING**, (i) flattering; 2. 1. 573; (ii) tingling. The regular word to describe 'a pleasantly tingling or thrilling sensation... of the heart, lungs, blood, "spirits"' (O.E.D. 'tickle' vb. 1). Cf. Spenser *Muiopotmos* 394 'Who... with secrete ioy... Did tickle inwardly in euerie vaine'; 3. 1. 44
- TIDE**, time, season; 3. 1. 86
- TIME**, the present state of affairs; the present regime; 4. 2. 61; 5. 2. 12; 5. 6. 26
- TIMES**, the future; 4. 3. 54
- TITHE** (vb.), to exact or collect tithes; 3. 1. 154
- TO**, in addition to; 1. 1. 144
- TOLL** (vb.), to exact or collect a tax; 3. 1. 154
- TOOTH**, appetite (v. note); 1. 1. 213
- TOWER** (vb.). A term in falconry; lit. 'to rise in circles till she reaches her "place"' Onions (cf. *Macb.* 2. 4. 12. 'A falcon towering in her pride of place'); hence, to soar; 2. 1. 350; 5. 2. 149
- TOY**, 'a piece of fun, amusement, entertainment' (O.E.D.); 1. 1. 232
- TRADED**, practised; 4. 3. 109
- TRAIN** (vb.), to draw on, allure; 3. 4. 175
- TRANSLATE**, interpret; 2. 1. 513
- TREATY**, proposal; 2. 1. 481
- TRICK** (sb.), trait; 1. 1. 85
- TROTH**, faith; 3. 3. 55; 4. 1. 104
- TRUE**, just; 4. 3. 84
- TRUMPET**, trumpeter; 2. 1. 198
- TRUTH**, honesty, virtue; 1. 1. 169; cf. 3. 1. 273, 283
- UNACQUAINTED**, unfamiliar, unknown; 3. 4. 166
- UNADVISED**, rash, indiscreet; 2. 1. 45 (with a play on 'without receiving news'); 2. 1. 191; 5. 2. 132
- UNATTEMPTED**, not tempted; 2. 1. 591
- UNDER-BEAR**, to endure, suffer; 3. 1. 65
- UNDER-WROUGHT**, undermined; 2. 1. 95
- UNFENCED**, undefended; 2. 1. 386
- UNHAIRD**, beardless; 5. 2. 133
- UNOWED**, unowned; 4. 3. 147
- UNREVEREND**, irreverent; 1. 1. 227
- UNSURED**, uncertain; 2. 1. 471
- UNTOWARD**, indecorous, unseemly; 1. 1. 243
- UNTREAD**, to retrace; 5. 4. 52
- UNTRIMMED**, with the hair hanging down after the fashion of brides (cf. note); 3. 1. 209
- UNVEXED**, unmolested; 2. 1. 253

- UNWARILY, without warning, unexpectedly; 5. 7. 63
- UNYOKE, to unlink, disjoin; 3. 1. 241
- UPON, against; 3. 1. 193
- VAULTY, having the form of a hollow arch; 3. 4. 30; 5. 2. 52
- VEIN, (*a*) blood-vessel, (*b*) mood, humour (cf. *Err.* 2. 2. 20 'this merry vein'); 5. 2. 38
- VILE-DRAWING, attracting towards evil; 2. 1. 577
- VISIT (vb.), to punish; 2. 1. 179
- VOLQUESSEN, 'the ancient country of the Velocasses, whose capital was Rouen; divided in modern times into Vexin Normand and Vexin Française' (Wright); 2. 1. 527
- VOLUNTARY (sb.), a volunteer; 2. 1. 67
- VOUCHSAFE, to condescend to accept; 3. 1. 294
- VULGAR, common to all; 2. 1. 387
- WAFT, to convey safely by water; 2. 1. 73
- WAIST, girdle; 2. 1. 217
- WALL-EYED, lit. having the iris of the eye discoloured, (hence) having glaring eyes (cf. *Tit. And.* 5. 1. 44, Spenser, *F.Q.* 1. 4. § 24 'whally iris (the signe of gelosy), and Marston, *Insat. Countess*, l. 1 'wall-ey'd Ielousie'); 4. 3. 49
- WANTON (sb.), a spoilt child; 5. 1. 70
- WANTON (adj.), frivolous; 3. 3. 36
- WANTONNESS, whim, sport; 4. 1. 16
- WARN, to summon; 2. 1. 201
- WEAL, welfare; 4. 2. 65
- WEATHER, storm, rain; 4. 2. 109
- WELKIN, the vault of heaven, the sky; 5. 2. 172
- WHAT THOUGH? what matter? 1. 1. 169
- WHEREUPON, to the degree that; 4. 2. 65
- WHET ON, to urge on; 3. 4. 181
- WILD, agitated; 5. 1. 35
- WILDLY, distractedly; 4. 2. 128
- WILFUL-OPPOSITE, obstinate; 5. 2. 124
- WIN OF, get the better of, win from by underhand means; 2. 1. 569
- WIT, understanding; 3. 4. 102
- WITHAL, (i) therewith; 2. 1. 531; (ii) with; 3. 1. 327
- WORSHIP, a distinction or dignity (v. O.E.D. 3 b); 4. 3. 72
- WRACK = wreck; 3. 1. 92; 5. 3. 11
- YET, as yet; 2. 1. 361; 4. 3. 91
- ZEAL, religious fervour; 2. 1. 565
- ZEALOUS, fervent, religious; 2. 1. 428
- 'ZOUNDS = God's wounds; 2. 1. 466

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